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THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

1919-20

INCLUDING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

FOR THE YEARS 1918-20.

EDITED BY
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.



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THE COINS OF HAROLD I.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

52 **A**S in the case of Harthacnut,¹ the same remarkable feature of multiplicity of type is evident in the standard works on the coins of Harold I. These works are, for all practical purposes, Hildebrand's *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet*, 1881, *The Silver Coins of England*, by Edward Hawkins, third edition, 1887, and *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon series*, volume ii, 1893. In the first-named work five types, besides varieties, are given to the reign. In the second, five types also appear, and in the third, six types, with the addition of a number of varieties. Having regard to the fact that Harold reigned over England for only four years and four months, that is, from November 12th, 1035, to March 17th, 1040, it will at once be seen how improbable it is that so many types of coins, in the sense that is applied to the term type, namely an issue of money as distinct from a variation of design, were authorised in a reign of such short duration. Hildebrand himself appears to have realised this, since he states, in his prefatorial remarks, that only his Types A and B, with variety Ba, are normal English types, and adds that the others were due to the carelessness, or to the fancies of the die-sinkers. The British Museum Catalogue, besides increasing the number of types, does not make any such qualification, and it, in common with Hildebrand, indicates that all the issues described are of Anglo-Saxon origin, an opinion with which the present writer will be compelled regretfully to disagree. I say regretfully, because the coins I question as being of Anglo-Saxon origin include the only

¹ "The Anglo-Saxon Coins of Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, 1914.

type of Harold I on which the word PACX occurs, and it therefore eliminates from the series of coins of this country an issue of remarkable design which might otherwise have had possibilities of reference to an interesting event in Anglo-Danish history.

Before, therefore, regard can be had to the number and order of the undoubted Anglo-Saxon types and varieties of coins of Harold I, it will be necessary to review the published types and varieties of the coins and, where necessary, to delete from the series the pieces which cannot properly be regarded as of Anglo-Saxon origin. By this means only can a rightful view of the money of Harold I be obtained, for it will readily be seen that the incorporation of alien coins in the series would lead to misconception, and to theorising on wrong premises.

First of all it may be regarded as an axiom that the following types and varieties are undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon origin :—

Hildebrand Type A	British Museum Type I	Hawkins Type 1
" " B	" " " V, variety <i>c</i>	" " 2
" " B, variety <i>a</i>	" " " V	
	" " " V, variety <i>b</i>	

We are left, therefore, to a consideration of the below-mentioned issues—

1. Hildebrand Type A, variety <i>a</i>	British Museum Type I, variety <i>a</i>
2. " " B, " <i>b</i>	
3. " " B, " <i>c</i>	British Museum Type VI
4. " " C	
5. " " D	British Museum Type IV
6. " " D, variety <i>a</i>	" " " IV, variety <i>a</i>
7. " " E	" " " II
8.	" " " III Hawkins Type 5
9.	" " " III, variety <i>a</i> " 4
10.	" " " V, variety <i>a</i> " 3

The first of these equivocal issues, numbered 1 above, Hildebrand A, variety *a*, British Museum Catalogue I, variety *a*, is given in the standard works as a variety of type only, and its excessive rarity in a period of which numerous finds of coins have occurred, justifies this position quite apart from its general similarity to the main issue, for it is known only of Lincoln and Warwick. Although the engraving

of the bust in Hildebrand, copied in the British Museum Catalogue, has been badly done, giving the appearance of rude workmanship, a cast of the coin itself, Fig. 10, kindly provided by the Keeper of the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, shows that the workmanship of the die is normal, and this is supported by the perfect regularity of the readings, which leave no room for doubt of the correct attribution of the coin to the Anglo-Saxon series. On this, the Lincoln piece, the moneyer's name is Lifing, which is not only a well-known and very frequent name on Anglo-Saxon issues, but also occurs in the main type, Hildebrand A, British Museum Catalogue I, of which the coin under discussion is a variety. The same remarks apply to the Warwick example, which discloses the Saxon name of Leofwig. The main departure from the general design of the issue consists in the introduction of an inner circle on the reverse, and this is no doubt due to the individuality of the die-sinker. The inner circle appears to be quite intentional and not merely the mark of the instrument used for spacing. As, therefore, the coins fall into the Anglo-Saxon series, a full description and an illustration of them will appear later as Fig. 10.

The next type on the list, No. 2, is Hildebrand B, variety *b*, and is unaccountably omitted from the British Museum Catalogue, which otherwise fairly closely follows Hildebrand. The coin is so obviously a "mule"-issue of Hildebrand's Types A and B, British Museum Catalogue Type I and Type V, variety *c*, that no further demonstration than is afforded by the illustration, Fig. 11, is necessary.

No. 3 on the list, Hildebrand B, variety *c*, British Museum Catalogue VI, is placeable in the same category as No. 1, the balance of evidence, based on the moneyers' and mint names on the coins known, being in favour of a British attribution. The chief variation from the main type is in the introduction of a large beaded head-dress, and it is represented by the mints of Cambridge, Lincoln, and Thetford. The moneyer, Eraric, on the coin bearing the last mint-name, is quite new to the series, but those on the coins of the first two mints, Swerting and Wulceet of Lincoln, and Wulfwine of Cambridge, are

well in evidence also on the coins of those mints in the main type. A full description of the coins will be given later amongst the Saxon issues—see Fig. 15.

No. 6 on the list, Hildebrand Type D, variety *a*, British Museum Catalogue, Type IV, variety *a*, is represented only by two mints, Lincoln and London. The illustration, Fig. 12, shows that it is of good Anglo-Saxon work, both as to size and execution, and no other conclusion can be arrived at than that it is an Anglo-Saxon “mule” issue. But as such it is rather deceptive, for although the obverse was struck from a Harold die of Type B in Hildebrand, British Museum Catalogue, Type V, variety *c*, the reverse does not appear amongst the types of Harold. It is one of the well-known issues of Harold’s predecessor, Cnut, namely Type I of Hildebrand’s arrangement of the coins of the latter king. There can be little doubt that the reverses of the “mule” coins under discussion were struck from old dies preserved from the latter part of the reign of Cnut, when Hildebrand Type I of that monarch was issued.

The unique coin represented in the British Museum Catalogue as Type III, variety *a*, and in Hawkins as Type 4, given as No. 9 on the list above, was found in the Thames in 1838, and appears to be a specimen of Cnut’s Type H in Hildebrand, Type XVI in the British Museum Catalogue, overstruck with the name of Harold—see Fig. 1.



FIG. 1.—PENNY OF CNUT OVERSTRUCK WITH THE NAME OF HAROLD.
BRITISH MUSEUM.

Although, therefore, a coin of the latter king, probably reissued at the opening of the reign by the partisans of Harold eager to advertise the claim of their candidate in the dispute for the throne with the adherents of Harthacnut, it cannot be regarded as one of Harold’s issues of coins.

No. 10 on the list, represented in the British Museum Catalogue as Type V, variety *a*, and in Hawkins as Type 3, is simply a variant of Hildebrand's Type B, variety *a*, British Museum Catalogue, Type V. The coins represented by it, all of York, are the result of an engraver's mistake in punching the obverse dies forward instead of backward, with a result that the impressions on the flans are retrograde, and the bust to right instead of to left. No doubt the mistake was observed at once and the dies destroyed, for I know of four specimens only, three in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, with the moneyers' names Othinn Ucedee and Witherine, and the fourth, also of the moneyer Witherine, in the cabinet of Mr. R. C. Lockett, F.S.A., by whose kindness I am able to illustrate the variety as Fig. 2.



FIG. 2.—VARIETY OF TYPE 2 OF HAROLD I WITH THE OBTVERSE RETROGRADE.
R. C. LOCKETT.

No. 8 on the list of doubtful coins was considered by Hildebrand to be a coin of Harthacnut's, and with this conclusion I agree. It is one of that monarch's continental issues, as the type and moneyer clearly show. Compare Hauberg's *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*.

The doubtful types of Harold I now left for discussion are Hildebrand C, No. 4 on the list, Hildebrand D, No. 5 on the list, and Hildebrand E, No. 7 on the list. The last two are illustrated as Figs. 3 and 4 respectively.



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—DANISH COINS HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO HAROLD I. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The coins of all these types do not, in the writer's opinion, belong to the Anglo-Saxon series. Apart from the cardinal fact that, in

the short reign of Harold, there is no room for so many issues, the coins of these types are of excessive rarity, only about half a dozen in all being known to exist. It is evident also that they are not Anglo-Saxon "mule" coins, because there is no type of the obverses exactly similar in the Anglo-Saxon series. The great stumbling block to the deletion of the coins from the Anglo-Saxon series is the presence of Harold's name on the obverses, for a Harold of the time reigned only in England in contrast with Harold's predecessor Cnut, and with his successor Harthacnut, both of whom also held the sceptre of, and struck coins in Denmark at least, with resultant justification for transferring types of doubtful attribution to their continental dominions. The presence of Harold's name on the coins would be an almost insurmountable objection to the removal of the types under discussion in any other era than that being dealt with, but in our period it loses its importance when it is remembered that, not only were the English coins of the time the prototypes of the money of the princes of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Northmen of Dublin, but they were very often slavishly copied by those princes in the inscriptions as well as in the types. Apart from coins bearing the names of Cnut and Harthacnut who, as before mentioned, both held sway abroad, coins of foreign origin are well known with the names of Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, who had no jurisdiction overseas, appearing on them, as, for instance, Ethelred II and Edward the Confessor. In illustration of this now well-known fact I illustrate from my own collection a penny of good workmanship issued ostensibly in the name of Ethelred II, but undoubtedly, from the reverse inscription, of Irish origin, for it was struck by Færemin, the well-known moneyer of Sihtric III of Dublin, Fig. 5.



FIG. 5.—PENNY OF SIHTRIC III MODELLED ON ENGLISH TYPES. H. A. PARSONS.

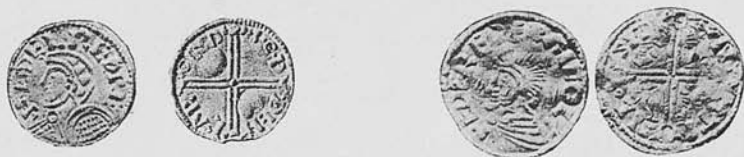
A further illustration of the same anomaly is given by another coin, also from my cabinet, which, from its reverse inscription of

GODPINE.ON.PIN, purports to have been struck at Winchester, but its obverse reading, SIHTRIC EVNVNG DYFLI, for Sihtric, King of Dublin, clearly proves it to be of Hiberno-Danish origin, Fig. 6.



FIG. 6.—PENNY OF SIHTRIC III MODELLED ON ENGLISH TYPES. H. A. PARSONS.

It must always be remembered that, at this period, the foreign princes, and not the English sovereigns, were the copyists. Therefore it was the die-sinker of Sihtric of Dublin who copied the Saxon reading of the obverse of the first coin and that of the reverse of the second piece. The same remarks apply to both Denmark and Sweden, as illustrated by two more coins from my collection which show—



FIGS. 7 AND 8.—COINS OF LUND IN SCANIA AND SIGTUNA IN SWEDEN BEARING ÆTHELRED II'S NAME. H. A. PARSONS.

1. A Danish piece of Lund in Scania with Ethelred's name on the obverse, Fig. 7, and
2. A Swedish coin struck at Sigtuna also showing Ethelred's name on the obverse, Fig. 8.

Æthelred II had no jurisdiction in Dublin or Denmark or Sweden. The existence, therefore, of the name of Harold on the obverse of the coins we are now reviewing is not, therefore, of itself, an insuperable objection to the transference of them to a foreign mint, for there is ample evidence of similar anomalies in the period. Turning now

to the reverse inscriptions on these types we find the following legends :—

Hildebrand, Type C	+ EDPINE ON LVNDI
„	„ D + ILVHL ON LVNDI
„	„ E + VLFTL ON LVND
„	„ E + VLFTL ONI LVND
„	„ E + VLFCTL ON LVND

The mint name disclosed equally applies to London in Britain and to Lund, the then most important town in the East Denmark of the period. For a settlement of the question as to which of these two places the coins under discussion belong, consideration must be given to their designs, to the names of the moneyers, and to their places of discovery. Size and weight were factors of importance in separating the Anglo-Saxon coins prior to the reign of Cnut from foreign imitations of, or after, that time, since the latter, except in the case of the earliest money of Sweden, were generally smaller and lighter than their Saxon prototypes. But Cnut and Harold I issued, in England, small and light money, as the former did also in his foreign dominions, and arguments based on the weights of the coins are therefore rendered nugatory.

As regards the designs on the coins, the obverses of all the three issues, Hildebrand Types C, D, and E, are exactly the same, pointing to simultaneous issue of the pieces. The reverses, on the contrary, are of essentially different types, unknown on the true coins of Harold I, but in evidence upon the Anglo-Saxon money of Cnut. The reverse of Hildebrand C is similar to the numerous coins of Cnut known as Hildebrand Type H, the reverse of Hildebrand D of Harold I is identical with the coins of Cnut placed by Hildebrand as Type I, and the reverse of Hildebrand E of Harold I is almost the same as a very rare variety of coins of Cnut given by Hildebrand as Type F in his arrangement of the coins of that king.

The existence of these three doubtful Anglo-Saxon types is, therefore, due to the activities of a moneyer who muled an obverse die, which has no exactly similar prototype in the true Anglo-Saxon

series, with reverses struck from three different sorts of reverse irons, one of which, Hildebrand E, is also not exactly similar to any Anglo-Saxon type, although the two others are. This plethora of muled coins is a decided and well-known feature of the emanations from the then comparatively new mint of Lund in East Denmark, at which place were struck all sorts of coins of anomalous designs of an imitative character copied from, or based upon, Anglo-Saxon prototypes. This was a natural state of things in a country but newly providing itself with a metallic medium of exchange, and it is common to all similar experiments, our own country being no exception to the rule, for we see, in the sceatta series of the initial coinage of early Anglo-Saxon Britain, the same multiplicity of type and profusion of design to a great extent copied from Roman prototypes. But the Anglo-Saxon Britain of the eleventh century, the period we are considering, had quite settled down to a more or less regular system of monetary issues, whereas the Kingdom of Denmark was only just emerging from numismatic darkness, so the natural conclusion, on the evidence of the designs of the coins, is that they are the work of an imitator in the mint of Lund in East Denmark, rather than that they were the authorised issue of a die-sinker in Anglo-Saxon London. As it is considered that the king's name on the obverse of these coins is also imitative, the question arises as to which King of Denmark the coins belong, for they are too early in type to be rightly attributed to Harold Hein of that country, who reigned from 1075–1080 A.D. There seems to be no question that they belong to the time of Magnus the Good, 1042–1047 A.D., and proof of this will be now furnished.

As we should therefore expect, corroborative evidence of the above conclusion, based on the designs, is afforded by the moneyers' names disclosed on the reverses of the coins. These are:—

Hildebrand Type C + EDPINE

„ „ D + ILVHL

„ „ E + VLFTL

„ „ E + VLFCTL

In the first, EDPINE, we have an undoubted Anglo-Saxon name, and without regard to other circumstances it affords no proof of the correctness of the proposition that the coins in question are Danish, although, on the other hand, it must not be inferred, necessarily, that the coin which bears it is of Saxon origin, for Anglo-Saxon names are well known on unequivocal Danish coins, and they represent slavish imitations of English inscriptions, the genuine names of Saxon moneyers in the service of the Danish crown, or the use of English dies taken by such moneyers to their new sphere of work, or reaching a foreign mint as plunder.

In the present instance the Danish origin of the coin bearing the name EDPINE is conclusively proved by the existence of a coin of Magnus the Good, the reverse of which was struck from the same die as the doubtful Anglo-Saxon piece under notice, and the obverse of which is clearly inscribed MANVS, one of the renderings of the name of Magnus the Good, the G of which is nearly always either omitted or softened into an H. This coin is illustrated in Hauberg's *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Pl. VI, No. 11, and as it is linked on by its reverse to No. 4 of our list, namely, Hildebrand C of Harold's types, which latter is connected with Nos. 5 and 6, Hildebrand Types D and E, through their identical obverses, it will readily be seen that all the coins must fall into the reign of Magnus.

But still further evidence of this is afforded by the other moneyers' names given, the next of which is ILVHL. This is probably intended for Iluhe, a name unknown on undoubted Anglo-Saxon money, being in evidence only on the coin under discussion, No. 5, Hildebrand D, and on a penny of Cnut of hybrid imitative type which is given by Hildebrand as Type I, variety *a*—No. 2511 in his coins of that king. On the other hand, the same name occurs on coins of undoubted Danish origin of Cnut the Great, Magnus the Good, and Svend Estridsen. There can therefore be little doubt that this moneyer worked only in Denmark, and that the coins are therefore Danish coins. The third and fourth names in evidence on these questioned Anglo-Saxon types are undoubtedly intended for Ulfcetel.

This name is Danish, and is in evidence on undoubted Danish coins issued before and after the time of Harold I.

On the whole, the evidence of the moneyers' names on all these three types is decidedly in support of the conclusion arrived at in connection with the designs.

But a third source of investigation is left, and it is of very considerable importance, probably of itself conclusive of the Danish origin of the types we are now discussing. I refer to the place of discovery of the coins I have questioned, for not a single one of those with the name of Harold clearly upon them has been discovered in this country. As previously indicated, the coins of these alleged Anglo-Saxon types are of extremely rare occurrence and, in spite of the wealth of Anglo-Danish coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, a wealth which is far greater than that of any other country, not even excepting Britain, not a single specimen of Hildebrand Type C is in the Royal Swedish collection, and Hildebrand bases his description of this type on a coin found at Lubeck and now in the museum at Stettin in Pomerania. A second example was in the collection of Mr. Petersen of Odensee. It was illustrated in his sale catalogue of May 21st, 1917, and it was there considered to have been found with the Stettin example. Of Hildebrand Type D but one example appears to be known, and of Type E two specimens. They are all in the Stockholm collection, which indicates discovery in Sweden, no doubt in that part of the modern kingdom which was formerly East Denmark; where most of the hoards of Anglo-Saxon coins have come to light. The evidence of the finds is therefore in favour of an allocation of all the coins to Lund in Scania rather than London in Britain.

Having now, it is hoped, settled the question of the true types and varieties of coins of Harold I, a description of them, in the order in which they were struck, will be given. The reasons for this order will appear later.

TYPE I ; *Hildebrand A* ; *British Museum Catalogue I* ;
Hawkins I.



FIG. 9.—HAROLD'S FIRST TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Helmeted bust to left, mantled.

Reverse.—A cross formed of four ovals ; their bases united by circles enclosing a pellet.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1036.

The example illustrated as Fig. 9 reads :—

Obverse.—+ HAROLDO REX

Reverse.—+ ðVRSTAN ON STANF

Mints represented :—

Bath.	Hereford.	Romney.
Bedford.	Huntingdon.	Salisbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Shaftesbury.
Buckingham.	" <i>Iothab.</i> " ¹	Shrewsbury.
Cambridge.	Ipswich.	Southampton.
Canterbury.	Langport.	Southwark.
Chester.	Leicester.	Stamford.
Chichester.	Lewes.	Thetford.
Colchester.	Lincoln.	Wallingford.
Crewkerne.	London.	Warminster.
Cricklade.	Lydford.	Warwick.
Derby.	Maldon.	Watchet.
Dorchester.	Malmesbury.	Wilton.
Dover.	Norwich.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	Worcester.
Gloucester.	Oxford.	York.
Hastings.	Rochester.	

¹ See note 4, page 48.

TYPE I, *variety a* ; Hildebrand A, *variety a* ; British Museum Catalogue, Type I, *variety a*.



FIG. 10.—VARIETY OF HAROLD'S FIRST TYPE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type, but with an inner circle added.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1036.

The example illustrated as Fig. 10 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAROLD REX

Reverse.—+LIFINE ON LINCOL

Mints represented :—

Lincoln.

Warwick.

“ Mule ” issue, Obverse type 1 ; Reverse type 2 ; Hildebrand B, *variety b*.



FIG. 11.—“ MULE ” OF HAROLD'S FIRST AND SECOND TYPES. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The example illustrated as Fig. 11 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAROLD REX

Reverse.—+COLAMAN ON OEX

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1037 or 1038.

Mints represented :—

Canterbury.

Oxford.

"Mule" issue, Obverse Type 2; Reverse Cnut Type Hildebrand I; Hildebrand D, variety *a*; British Museum Catalogue IV, variety *a*.



FIG. 12.—"MULE" OF HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE WITH REVERSE OF ONE OF CNUT'S, ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The example illustrated as Fig. 12 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAROLD REC

Reverse.—+EDPALD ÐEALDA ON L

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1037 or 1038.

Mints represented :—

Lincoln.

London.

TYPE 2; *Hildebrand B*; *British Museum Catalogue V*, variety *c*; *Hawkins 2*.



FIG. 13.—HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Helmeted bust to left in armour and with shield : in front, a sceptre.

Reverse.—A long cross voided, the limbs united at their bases by a circle enclosing a pellet. In each angle of the cross a fleur-de-lys between two pellets.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1037 or 1038.

The example illustrated as Fig. 13 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAROLD RECX

Reverse.—+LEOFNOÐ ON CE

Mints represented :—

Barnstaple.	Hereford.	Romney.
Bath.	Hertford.	Salisbury.
Bedford.	Huntingdon.	Shaftesbury.
Bristol.	Hythe.	Shrewsbury.
Buckingham.	Ilchester.	Southampton.
Cambridge.	" <i>Iothab.</i> " ¹	Stafford.
Canterbury.	Ipswich.	Stamford.
Chester.	Leicester.	Steyning.
Chichester.	Lewes.	Tamworth.
Colchester.	Lincoln.	Thetford.
Cricklade.	London.	Wallingford.
Derby.	Lydford.	Warwick.
Dorchester.	Maldon.	Watchet.
Dover.	Norwich.	Wilton.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	Winchester.
Gloucester.	Oxford.	Worcester.
Hastings.	Rochester.	York.

TYPE 2, *variety a* ; *Hildebrand B, variety a* ; *British Museum Catalogue V.*



FIG. 14.—VARIETY OF HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type, but the ornament in the angles is a fleur composed of three pellets.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1037 or 1038.

The example illustrated as Fig. 14 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAROLD RE

Reverse.—+ SPEGLII ON EOE

¹ See note 4, page 48.

Mints represented :—

Bath.	Exeter.	Oxford.
Bristol.	Gloucester.	Salisbury.
Canterbury.	Hastings.	Stamford.
Chester.	Launceston.	Wallingford.
Chichester.	Leicester.	Wilton.
Colchester.	Lincoln.	York.
Derby.	London.	

TYPE 2, *variety b* ; *Hildebrand B, variety c* ; *British Museum Catalogue VI.*



FIG. 15.—VARIETY OF HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE. MAJOR P. CARLYON-BRITTON.

Obverse.—Similar to the main type but the outlines of the helmet are beaded.

Reverse.—Similar to the main type.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1037 or 1038.

The example illustrated as Fig. 15 reads :—

Obverse.—+HAR : LD R

Reverse.—+ERARIC ON ðEF

Mints represented :—

Cambridge.	Colchester.	Lincoln.	Thetford.
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In addition to the more or less intentional varieties above enumerated there are a few minor deviations from type which should have a passing notice. One is represented in the British Museum Catalogue as Type V, *variety a*, and in Hawkins as Type 3. It is an engraver's error and was fully dealt with and explained as No. 10 in the previous list. See Fig. 2. Another minor variety is that given in the British Museum Catalogue as Type V, *variety b*, Fig. 16. It

differs from the main type in the substitution of a trefoil of pellets for a fleur-de-lys in one quarter only, instead of in all four. A further



FIG. 16.—VARIETY OF HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE. TREFOIL OF PELLETS
INSTEAD OF THE LYS IN ONE QUARTER. BRITISH MUSEUM.

departure is to be noticed in Fig. 17, which has a trefoil of pellets instead of a fleur-de-lys as the head of the sceptre and reverse as variety *a* of this type.



FIG. 17.—VARIETY OF HAROLD'S SECOND TYPE. TREFOIL-HEADED SCEPTRE
AND REVERSE AS VARIETY *a*. H. A. PARSONS.

Previous writers on the coin-types of Harold I not only have been led into error regarding the number of issues of coins of that monarch through a too insular and superficial view of the times, with a result that, as we have seen, the mere name of Harold on a coin has been regarded as sufficient to warrant an attribution to Britain, but through the absence of a just estimate of the history of the time have accepted the inference that Harold's coinage for all England commenced with, or soon after, the death of his father, Cnut the Great. Both history and the coins themselves, or at least those of Harthacnut, indicate that the reign of Harold I is divisible into two parts, namely, his rule over Northern England only, to A.D. 1037, and over all England from 1037 to his death in A.D. 1040. It was no doubt Cnut's intention to leave his most important kingdom to his only legitimate son, Harthacnut, Harold's half brother, even if it was not his idea so to bequeath the whole of his empire. But circumstances did not permit any such peaceful solution to the matter, for Harthacnut's war against Magnus of Norway prevented

his presence in England at the crucial time of the assembly of the Witan to consider a successor on the death of Cnut in A.D. 1035 ; and the influence of his mother, Emma of Normandy, and of Godwin the great Earl of Wessex, who espoused his cause, was sufficient only to secure his accession to Southern England, as detailed in my account of the coins of Harthacnut,¹ and Harold was left with the northern half of the kingdom, roughly speaking, the country north of the Thames. For the coinage of this part of Harold's reign we must first consider the last issue of Cnut, which, on various grounds which need not be reviewed here, can be shown to be the type with four ovals on the reverse. This type of Cnut is described in Hildebrand as Type K, and in the British Museum Catalogue as Type XX. It is of very rare occurrence, and the numerous finds of coins of the period do not lead us to think that a greater proportion of specimens of it, as compared with the others, will be disclosed by finds of the future. The probability is, therefore, that this last type of Cnut was issued just before the death of the great king—who seems to have passed away very suddenly, for he was on one of his regular progresses through the country at the time—and that the design of the coinage, which, at least in its reverse, is quite distinct from any previous issue, was not abandoned when Harold and Harthacnut were placed in possession of England. In other words, the design of Cnut's last coinage must have been continued by these two monarchs as their first issue, although the draping of the bust on most examples of the relative issue of Harold was slightly different from that on the issue of Cnut and Harthacnut. In my treatise on the Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut² I put forward reasons for concluding that an immediate recoinage was ordered after the death of Cnut, a decision which was rendered the more easy of accomplishment since the continuance of Cnut's last type involved no discussion, or consideration of a new design for the new coinage ; the difference between the relative issues of the three kings, Cnut, Harthacnut, and Harold I being, in the main, that of name only.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1915, pp. 39 and 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-43.

That the initial, or "four-oval," type of Harold I was still in circulation after A.D. 1037 when, owing to the continued absence of Harthacnut in Denmark, the Saxons of Southern England declared in favour of a reunion of the country under the sceptre of Harold I, is amply proved by the presence in our cabinets of coins of the four-oval type bearing Harold's name from the mints of Southern England, but as it is not now possible, seemingly, to divide the coins of this type of Harold I from the northern mints into the period before and after A.D. 1037, the whole body of coins must be considered as one issue, which I have designated Type 1. The reasons which provoked an immediate coinage by Harold and Harthacnut on the death of their father Cnut apply with equal force to the time of Harold's succession to all England, and no doubt an immediate issue of dies bearing Harold's name was made to the southern mints after his coronation as monarch of all England. The question, however, of the issue of coins of an entirely new design could not have been long delayed, because Harold's second and only other type is of more frequent occurrence than his first, with but very little time left for its issue, as events happened. Further, the prevailing illiteracy of the people, whether free or serfs, carried with it the necessity for, or at least desirability of, a pictorial exhibition of Harold's accession to the reunited throne, and this is given in an entirely new design, with a sceptre added on the obverse. I would therefore place the issue of Harold's second type to the end of A.D. 1037, or beginning of A.D. 1038, and to the same date should be allocated the two "mule" issues known of the reign, one of which, Fig. 11, is fittingly composed of an obverse of Type 1 with a reverse of Type 2; the other, Fig. 12, being an anomalous issue made up of an obverse of Type 2 with a reverse of Cnut's Type I in Hildebrand, Type XVII in the British Museum Catalogue. That type was undoubtedly the penultimate issue of Cnut and, counting that king's last or four-oval type as one with the similar issue of Harold I, it will be seen that the "mule" issue under discussion ignores one type of money. This sort of anomalous "mule" coin is known of both prior and subsequent issues of money of the period. There seems little doubt that the confusion arising

out of a great recoinage was made the occasion of the use by some moneyers of obsolete dies and, although such a practice naturally resulted chiefly in the muling of two consecutive issues of coins, the muled specimens of nearly all periods of our numismatic history prove that dies of non-consecutive issues were occasionally utilised.

A connecting link between the last issue of Harold I and the coinage of Harthacnut of his second regnal period is furnished by the overstruck coin illustrated as Fig. 15 in my treatise on the Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut.¹ It will be seen from that work that it is a coin of Harold's Type 2 with the name of the king changed to Harthacnut, and it was probably issued in the interregnum March to June, 1040 A.D., between the death of Harold I and the accession of Harthacnut.

As in the case of Harthacnut, so under the present reign, no reliable deductions, so far as the sequence of the types is concerned, can be made from the records of finds of coins which have chiefly occurred abroad in the Scandinavian countries. It seems clear from the records of these finds, as of those in this country, that the types were, even in England, kept long in circulation, and it by no means follows that a fresh issue of coins gained an ascendancy in numbers over prior issues, still in circulation, which had been struck at times of great minting activity. Sufficient evidence, however, in other directions has, it is hoped, been adduced to show not only what real types were issued by Harold I, but their order.

The following is a list of all the mint readings I have been able to collate. It is doubtful whether it is exhaustive, for every fresh find discloses new, if minor, variants; and a few of the readings, mainly of Lincoln and Stamford, may be continental imitations. Readings in lists of Anglo-Saxon coins which are almost certainly foreign I have omitted.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1915, pp. 37 and 44.

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	Barnstaple...	2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFGAR ONN BEA
2	Bath ...	1	+NARLD REX	+ÆGELMÆR ON BAÐ
3			+HAROLD RE	+ÆELCMÆR ON BAÐ
4			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFPIG ON BAÐA
5			+HAROLD RE	+ÆELLMÆR ON BAÐ
6			+HAROLD R	+PÆDELL ON BAÐA
7			+HAROLD REX	+PÆDELL ON BAÐAN
8		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELMÆR ON BA
9			+HAROROLD R	+PÆDELL ON BAÐ
10			+HAROLD REC	+PÆDEL ONN BA
			Two pellets above the bust.	
11		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLMÆR ON BAÐA
12			+HAROLD REC	+PÆDEL ONN BAÐA
13			+HAROLD REC	+PEDEL ONN BAÐ
14	Bedford ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFÐEGEN ON BED
15		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLLMAN ON BED
16			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFÐEGN O BE
17			+HAROLD RECX AN	+LEOFPINE ON BED
18			+HAROLD REC	+SPOTA ONN BEI
19			+HAROLD RECX	+SPOTE ONN BED
20			+HAROLD REC	+SPOTE ONN BED
21	Bristol ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELPINE ON BRIC
22			+HAROLD REX	+EGELPINE ON BRICE
23			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPINE ON BR
24			+HAROLLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON BRIC
25			+HAROLD REX	+SÆPINE ON BRIC
26			+HAROLD REX	+SÆPINE ON BRICS
27			+HAROLD REX	+SÆPINE ON BRICST
28		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON BRI
29			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFPERD ONN BRI
30			+NL0D RECX	+ÆLFPERD ONN BRI
31			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFPERD ON BRIC
32			+HADLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON BRIC
33			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFPINE ON BRIC
34			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPINE ON BRIC
35			+HADLD REX	+SÆPINE NN BRIC
36			+HAROLD REC	+SÆPINE ON BRIC
37			+HAROLD REC	+DVLNOÐ ON BRIC
38			+HAROLD REC	+PVLPINE ON BRIC

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
39	Bristol, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REC	+PVLFPINE ON BRIC
40		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD RE	+PVLPIINE ON BRIC
41			+AHROLD REX	+PVLPIINE ON BRIC
42	Buckingham	1	+HAROLD REX	+BRIHTPINE ON BV
43		2	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON BV
44	Cambridge	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPIG ONN GRANT
45			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPACER ON GRANT
46			+HAROLD REX	+EDPACER ON ERAN
47			+HAROLD RECX	+OSGET ON GRANTE
48			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON GRAN
49		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPI ON GRANT
50			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFPIG ON GRAN
51			+HAROLD REC	+STIRCEERE GRA
52			+HAROLD RECX	+STIRCEERE GRA
53			+HAROLD REC	+PVLFPINE O GRA
54			+HAROLD RECX	+PVLFPINE O GRA
55			+HAROLD REC	+PVLPIINE ON GRA
56		2 var. <i>b</i>	+NAROLD REX	+PVLPIINE ON RAT
57			+HAD . . . RE	+PVLPIIE OII GRA
58	Canterbury	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRED ON EEN
59			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRED ON CEN
60			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRIE ONN CENT
61			+HAROLD REX	+BRIHTRED ON CEN
62			+HAROLD RE	+BRIHTRED ON CEN
63			+HAROLD R	+CALDEPINE ON CENT
64			+HAROLD REX	+CETELL ON CENTPA
65			+HAROLD REX	+CYTEL ONN CENTP
66			+HAROLD R	+LEFENAÐ ON CAN
67			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFNON ON CEN
68			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON CENT
69			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPINE ON CENT
70			+HROLD RECX	+LIFINE ON CENTPA
71			+HAROLD RE	+PINEDÆIG ON CEN
72			+HAROLD RE	+PINRED ON CENTP
73			+HAROLD RE	+PVLFPII ON CENTP
74		2	+HAROLD REX	+PVLNON ON CEN . . .
75			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFRED ON CEN
76			+HNROLD RE	+ÆLFRED ONO CEN
77			+HAROLD RECX	+GYLDPINE O CE
78			+HAROLD REC	+GYLDPINE O CE
79			+HAROLD REX	+CYTEL ONN CEN
80			+HAROLD REC	+CYTEL ONN CEN

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
81	Canterbury, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD RE	+LEFSTAN O CEN
82			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFNOÐ ON CE
83			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFNOÐ ON CE
84			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFSTAN O CE
85			+HADD REX	+SVNDEID ON C
86			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ ON CEN
87			+HAROLD REC	+PVLPIG ON CENT
88			+HAROLD REX	+PVLSTAN ON CEN
89			+HAROLD RX	+PVLFPINE O CE
90			+HAROLD RX	+PVLFPIN ON CENT
		2 var. <i>a</i> Mule { Obv. 1 Rev. 2		
91	Chester ...	1	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFSIGE ON LEICEE ¹
92			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFSIIGE ON LEICE ¹
93			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFSIIGE ON LEICE
94			+HAROLD REX	+ELEPINE ON LEICE
95			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON LEICE ¹
96			+HAROLLD REX	+CROC ON LEICES ¹
97			+HAROLD REX	+GILACRIS ON LEI ¹
98			+HAROLD RECX	+GILLACRIS ON LEGECE ¹
99			+HAROLD REX	+GILLACRIS ON LEI ¹
100			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LEGIEE ¹
101			+HARDLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LEGIEE
102			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON LEIC ¹
103			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON LEICE ¹
104			+HAROLD REX	+SNELL ON LEICEEE ¹
105			+HAROLD RECX	+SNEL ON LEICESTER ¹
106			+HAROLD REX	+SPEGEN ON LEICEIS ¹
107			+HAROLD RECX	+SPERTINC ON LEGECE ¹
108		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFSIGE ON LEIC ¹
109			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFSIGE ON LEIIC ¹
110			+HAROD REX	+CILLE ON LEICE ¹
111			+HAROLD REC	+CROC ON LEICES ¹
112			+HAROLD REC	+CROCC ONN LEI ¹
113			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFNOÐ ON LE ¹
114			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFNOÐ ON LEI ¹
115			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFNOÐ ON LEIC ¹
116			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFNOÐ ON LEG ¹
117			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LEI ¹
118			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPIINE ON LE ¹
119			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPIINE ON LEI ¹
120			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPIINE O LEIC ¹
121			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPIINE ON LEIC ¹
122			+HAROLD REC	+SNELL ONN LEIC ¹
123			+HAROLD REX	+SVMERLR O LEIC ¹

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
124	Chester, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REX	+SVMERLED O LE
125			+HAROLD REC	+SPARTINE ON LEIC ¹
126			+HAROD REC	+SPERTII ON LEGI ¹
127			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ O LEIC ¹
128			+HAROLD REX	+PVL PNE ON LEIÐG
129		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REC	+SPERTINE ON LEIC ¹
130			+HAROLD REC	+SPERTINE ON LEII ¹
131	Chichester...	1	+HAROLD R	+ÆLFRIE ON CICES
132			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIE ON CICEST
133		2	+HAROLD REX A	+ÆLFRIE O CICE
134			+HAROLD REX A	+ÆLFRIE ON CICE
135			+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON CICE
136		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD RE	+GODA ONN CICE
137	Colchester ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON COLEC
138			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON COLEC
139			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON COLEECES
140			+HAROLD REX	+PVL PINE ON COLECE
141		2	+HAROLD RE	+GODRIC ON COLE
142			+HAROLD RE	+GORIC ON CONE
143			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON CO
144			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE O COL
145			+HAROLD REX	+PVL PINE ON COL
146		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFERE ON COL
147		2 var. <i>b</i>	Unascertained.	+PVL PNE ON COL
148	Crewkerne...	1	+HAROLD REX	+BRIHTRIC ON CRV
149	Cricklade ...	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆGELPINE ON CRO
150		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON CRO
151			+HAROD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON CRO
152	Derby ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+BLACAN ON DEORBI
153			+HAROLD REX	+BLACAMON ON DEORBI
154			+HAROLD RE	+SPERTINE ON DEOR
155			+HARLD REX	+SPERTINE ON DEOR
156			+HAROLD RE	+SPERTINE ON DER
157			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFEH ON DEORB
158		2	+HADLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON DEO
159			.....	+ÆL EOR ²
160			+HADOD REX	+GODDIC ON DEO
161			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON DEO
162			+HAROLD REX	+SPERTINE ON DE
163			+HAROLD REX	+SPERTINE ON DEO

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
164	Derby, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLLD REX	+SPRTINE ON DEO
165			+HARLD RECX	+SPRTINE ON DEO
166			+HARLD RECX	+PERTINE OI DEO
167		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON DEO
168	Dorchester	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLRIC ON DORCE
169			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLRIC ON DORCE
170		2	+HAROLD RE	+EONRED O DOR
171			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPINE O DOR
172			+HAROLLD REX	+GONPINE O DOR
173			+HAROLD RECX	+GONPINE O DOR
174			+HAROLLD REX	+HPATAMAN O DOR
175	Dover ...	1	+HAROLD RE	+BOGA ONN DOFRAN
176			+HAROLD REX	+BOGA ONN DOFRAN
177			+HAROLD RE	+BOGA ON DOFRAN
178			+HAROLD RE	+BOGA ONN DOFRENI
179			+HAROLD R	+EDPINE ONN DOFR
180			+HAROLD RX	+EDPINE ON DOFRAN
181			+HAROLD RE	+EDPINEE ON DOFR
182			+HAROLD RE	+ETSIGE ONN DOFRA
183		2	+HAROLD REC	+BOGA ONN DO
184			+HAROLD RECX	+BOGA ON DOFR
185			+HAROLD REC	+BOGA ON DOFR
186			+HAROLD REX	+CINSTAN ON DO
187			+HAROLD REC	+CVNSTAN ON DOF
188			+HAROLD REC	+CVNSTAN ON D
189			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPINE ON DOFR
190			+HAROLD REC	+EDPINE ON DOFR
191			... OLD RCE	+ N DOFRA ³
192	Exeter ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+CÆRLA ON ECXEC
193			+HAROLD REX	+CÆRLA ON ECXEC
194			+HAROLD REX	+EDMÆR ON ECXEC
195			+HAROLD RE	+EDMÆR ON ECXEC
196			+HAROLD RECX	+EDSIGIE ON ECXEC
197			+HAROLD REX	+HÆRRA ON ECXEC
198			+HAROLD REX	+HÆRRA ON ECXEC
199			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNON ON ECXE
200			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ ON ECXEC
201		2	+HAROLD REX	+EDVER ON ECXC
202			+HAROLD RECX	+EDMER ON ECX
203			+HAROLD REC	+EDMÆR ONN ECX
204			+HAROLD RECX	+EDMÆR ON ECXE
205			+HAROLD RECX	+EDMER ON ECXE

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
206	Exeter, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REC	+HVNNA ONN EAC
207			+HAROLD RECX	LEOFFINE ON E
208			+HROLOD REC	+LEOFDINE ON E
209			+HAROLD REC	+MANLEOF ON ECX
210			+HAROLD REC	+MANLEOF ON EX
211			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ ON ECX
212			+HAROLD REC	+PVLNOÐ ON ECX
213		2 var. <i>α</i>	+HAROLD REC	+EDMÆR ON ECXE
214			+HAROLD RE	+EDMÆR ON ECX
215			+HAROLD REC	+HVNNA ON EAC
216	Gloucester...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELRIC ON GLE
217		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLSIIE ON GLE
218			+HAROLD RECCX	+ÆLRIC ON GLEP
219			+HAROLD RECX	+GODRIC ON GLE
220			+HAROLD RECX	+GODRIC ON GLEP
221			+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON GLEP
222			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFN ON GLEP
223			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFNOÐ ON GLEP
224			+HAROLD REX	+PVLPAÐ ON GLE
225		2 var. <i>α</i>	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLRIC ONN GLE
226	Hastings ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON HÆST
227			+HAROLD REX	+BRID ON HÆSTINC
228			+HAROLD REX A	+CINEPNI ON HÆSTNC
229			+HAROLD RE	+EDPENE ON HÆST
230		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPER ON HÆ
231			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON HÆ
232			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPERD ON HÆS
233			+HAROLD RECX	+BRIDD O HÆSTIN
234		2 var. <i>α</i>	+HAROLD REC	+LIFINC ON HÆS
235			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINC ON HÆS
236	Hereford ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ELEPIG ONN HEREF
237			+HAROLD REX	+ELEPIG ON HEREF
238			+HAROLD REX	+LEFFENOÐ ON HE
239			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFNOÐ ON HER
240			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFNOÐ ON HERE
241			+HAROLD RE	+ORDRIC ONN HEREF
242			+HAROLD RECX	+ORDRIC ON HEREF
243			+HAROLD REX	+PVL SIGE ON HERE
244			.....	+PV EREF ²
245		2	+HAROLD REX	+PVL SIGE ON HEREF
246			+HAROLD REC	+ERNPI ON HEREF
247			+HAROLD REX A	+ERNPII ONN HER

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
248	Hereford, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REC	+LEOFENAÐ ON HE
249			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFNOÐ O HER
250			+HAROLD RECX A	+ORDRIC ON HER
251			+HAROLD RECX	+SÆDEMAN O HER
252			+HAROLD RECX	+PVLSIGE ON HER
253			+HAROLD REC	+PVLSII ONN HER
254	Hertford ...	2	+HAROLD REC	+DEORSIE ON HEOR
255			+HAROLD REC	+DEORSIG O HERT
256			+HAROLD REX	+DEORSII ON HEOR
257			+HAROLD REX	+GODMAN O HEO
258			+HAROLD REC	+GODMAN OI HEO
259			+HAROLD REC	+GODMAN ON HEOR
260	Huntingdon	1	+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON HVNT
261			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON HVNTAN
262		2	+HAROLD RECX AN	+PVLFPi ON HVNT
263			+HAROLD RECX	+PVL PNE ON HVN
264			+HAROLD RECX A	+PVLPII ON HVN
265			+HAROLD RECX EN	+PVLPII ON HVN
266	Hythe ...	2	+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ON HÐE
267			+NVDOD REX ¹²	+SERNE ON HEID
268	Ilchester ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELPINE ON GIFE
269		2	+HAROLD REX	+GODDRIC ON GIF
270	"Iothab" ⁴	1	+HAROL REX	+LEOFMÆR ON IOÐAB
271		2	+HAROLD REC	+LEOMÆR ON IOÐ
272			+HAROLD REC	+LEOMÆR ON IOÐA
273	Ipswich ...	1	+HAROLD R	+LIFINC ON GIPE
274			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINC ON GIPE
275			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINC ON GIPES
276			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINE ON GIPESP
277			+HAROLD REX	+PIDFARA ON GIPES
278			+HAODD RC	+PIDFARE ON GIPES
279			+HAROROLD R	+PIDFARE ON GIPES
280		2	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLBRIHT ON GIP
281			+HAROLD RECX	+ELBRIHT ON GI
282			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINC ONN GIP
283			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINC ON GIPE
284			+HAROLD REX	+PIDFARA ON GIP
285			+HAROLD REC	+PIDFARA O GIPE

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
286	Langport ⁵ ...	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆGELPINE ON LAC
287			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFPERD ON LANDE
288			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON LANDE
289			+HAROLLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON LANDE
290	Launceston	2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD R : EED	+GAPINE ON LAHZE
291	Leicester ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ ON LEHR ⁶
292		2	+HAROLD REC	+SÆPINE ON LEHR ⁶
293			+HAROLD REX	+SÆPINE ON LEIR ⁶
294			+HAROLD REX	+PVLNOÐ ON LEH ⁶
295			+HAROLD REX	+PVLSTAN O LEHR ⁶
296		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+PVLSTAN ON LEH ⁶
297	Lewes ...	1	+HAROLD RECX	+EDPERD ON LÆPEE
298			+HAROLD RE	+NORÐMAN ON LÆP
299		2	+HAROLD RECX	+EDPARD ON LÆP
300			+HAROLD REC	+EDPERD ON LÆP
301			+HAROLD REX	+EDPINE ON LÆPE
302			+HAROLD RECX	+GOPINE ON LÆPE
303			+HAROLD REX	+NORÐMAN ON LÆ
304			+HAROLD REX	+NORÐMAN O LÆP
305	Lincoln ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LNEOL
306			+HAROLD RE	+ASFERÐ ON LINEOL
307			+HAROLD REX	+COLGRIM ON LINE
308			+HAROLD REX	+CONRIH ON LINEOL
309			+HAROLD REX	+CONRIM ON LINEOL
310			+HAROLD REX	+COVRIM ON LINEOL
311			+HAROLD RE	+EDRIC ON LINEO
312			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPINE ONN LINEOL
313			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LINEOL
314			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LINEOO
315			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIE ON LINEOLN
316			+HAROLD REX	+HARÐACNVT ON LIN
317			+HAROLD RECX	+HARÐACNVT ON LINE
318			+HAROLD REX	+HARÐECNVT ON LI
319			+HAROLD REX	+HAÐL...N ON LINE
320			+HAROLD REX	+LEFDM ON LINEOLI
321			.....	+LEFRI... ..CO ³
322			+HAROILD REX	+LEOFNOÐ ONN LINE
323			+HAROLD REX A	+LEOFNOÐ ONN LINE
324			+HAROLD REX A	+LEOFPIEI ON LINE
325			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LINEO
326			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LINEOLC

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
327	Lincoln, <i>contd.</i>	I	+HAROLD REX A	+LEOFFINE ON LINEO
328			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINE ON LINCOL
329			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINE ON LINCOLL
330			+HARLD REX	+NAVDMN ON LINEOL
331			+HAROLDLD R	+OSFERÐ ON LINEO
332			+HAROLD REX	+OSFERÐ ON LINCOL
333			+HAROLDLD R	+OSFERÐ ON LINEOL
334			Unascertained.	+OSLAC ON LIN
335			+HAROLD RE	+OSLAC ON LINCOL
336			+HAROLD REC	+OÐBERAN ON LINE
337			+HAROLD REX	+OÐBERAN ON LINEO
338			+HAROLD RE	+SVMERLIDA ON LI
339			+HAROLD RE	+SVMERLIDA O LIN
340			+HAROLD REX A	+SVMERLIDA ON LIN
341			+HAROLD REX A	+SVMERLIDA ON LINE
342			+HAROLD REX	+SPAFA ON LINCOL
343			+HAROLD REX	+SPAFA ON LINCOLI
344			+HAROLD REX	+SPAFA ON LINEOLN
345			+HARLD REX	+SPAFA ON LINEOLN
346			+HAROLD REX	+SPARTEFAND ON LINE
347			+HAREOLD REX	+SPARTEFRAND ON LIN
348			+HAROLD REX	+SPARTEBRAND O LIN
349			+HAREOLD REX	+SPERTBRAND ON LII
350			+HAROLD REX	+SPERTEBRA ON LI
351			+HAROLD REX	+ÐVRTSTAN ON LIN
352			+HAROLD REX	+ÐVRSTAN ON LINEO
353			+HAROLD REX	+PADLOS ON LINCOL
354			+HAROLD REX	+PADLOS ON LINEOL
355			+HAROLD REX	+PÆLRÆFEN ON LINE
356			+HAROLD REX	+PÆLRÆFEN ON LNNE
357			+HARLD REX	+PALFET ON LINCOL
358			+HARLD REX	+PAÐLOS ON LINE
359			+HAROLD RE	+PAÐLOS ON LINEO
360			+HAROLD R	+PAÐLOS ON LINEOL
361			+HAROLD RE	+PITLOS ON LICOL
362			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFRIC ON LINCOL
363			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFRIC ON LINCOL
364			+HAROLD REX	+BRFRIC ON LINCOL
365			+HAROLD REX	+BRPRIC ON LINCOL
366		I var. a 2	+HAROLD REX	+LIFINE ON LINEOL
367			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLNOT ON LINE
368			Unascertained.	+ÆLPINE ON LINE
369			+HARLD REX	+COLGRIM O LINCO
370			+HAROLDL REX	+COLGRIM O LIN
371			+HAROLDRED REX	+COLGRIM O LLINE

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
372	Lincoln, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HARLDOLD REX	+ELFPIGE O LINEO
373			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LIN
374			+NADOLD REX	+GODRIC ON LINE
375			+HADROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LINE
376			+HADLD REX	+LEOEPIG OII LIC
377			+HADLD REX	+LECPINE ON LIC
378			+INADOD REX	+LECPINE O LINE
379			+INADOD DREX ^{1a}	+LECPINE O LINE
380			+HAROLD REX	+LEFNOÐ O LINE
381			+HAROLD REC	+LEFNOÐ O LINE
382			+HAROLD REX	+LEFPIGE ON LIN
383			+HAROLD REX	+LEFPINE ON LI
384			+HADOD REX	+LEFPINE ON LINEO
385			+NADOLD REX	+LEOFPIG ON LINE
386			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIG O LIN
387			+HAROLD RE	+LIADRAFEN LINE
388			.....	+ NNA ON LI . ²
389			+HADOD REX	+OSFERÐ ON LNC
390			+HAROLD REC	+OSMVND ON LIN
391			+HAROLD REX	+OSMVND ON LINE
392			+HAROLD RE	+OSMVND O LI
393			+HAROLD RECCX	+OSMVND O LI
394			+HADOLD REX	+OÐERN ON LINE
395			+HADD REX	+OÐERN ON LINE
396			+HAODD REX	+OÐNRIM ON LNC
397			+HAROLD REX A	+OÐRGRIM O LIN
398			+HAROLD REX	+OÐRIM OII LIIE
399			+HAROLD REX	+OÐRIM OII LINELI
400			+HAROLD REC	+SVMERL MO LII
401			+HAROLD REC	+SVMERL MO LII
402			+HAROLD REX	+SVMERLDA O LIN
403			+HVPERE REX AN	+SVMERLED ON L
404			+HAROLD REC	+SVMERLYD ON LI
405			+NADOLD REX	+SVMEID ON LIC
406			+NADOLD REX	+SVMREID OII LNC
407			+HAROLLD REX	+SVMREID OII LNC
408			+HADLD REX	+SVNRDDE O IIE
409			+NADOLD REX	+SVOIIREID OII LIIE
410			+NADOILD REX	+SPAFA O LINCOL
411			+HAROLD REX	+SPAFA ON LNLI
412			+HAROLD REX	+SPARTINE O LINE
413			+HARDOLD REX	+SPARTINE O LINE
414			+NADOLD REX	+SPERTINE O LNC
415			+NADOLD REX	+SPRTIIN ON LINE
416			+HADOD REX	+PORORIE O LINE

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
417	Lincoln, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REX	+PVLBRN O LINE
418			+HAROLD REX A	+PVLBRN O LINE
419			+HARLD RE	+PVLNOD ON LNL
420			Unascertained	+PVLNOÐ ON LINE
421			+NVDLD REX	+PVLCEET O LINE
422			+NVDLD REX	+PVLCEET O LINEO
423			+NVDLD REX	+PVLCEET O LINO
424			+HAROLD RE	+OÐRIM ON LIINE
425		Mule: Obv. Type 2. Rev. Cont. Hild. type I. 2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD RELEX	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LINEL
426			+NADOLD REX	+COLGRIM ON LI
427			+HAROLD XX	+LEOFRIC ONN LINE
428			+HAROLD X	+LEOFPIG ONN LINE
429			+HARORLDL REEX	+LEOFPIG ONN LINE
430			+HAROLD RECX	+OÐNRIM ON LIEL
431			+HAROLD RECX	+OÐRIM ONN LINE
432			+HAROLD RECX	+OÐRIM ON . LINEL
433			+HAROLD RECD	+SPRTIN ON LINEOL
434			+HAROLD REIX	+PVLBEORN ON LIN
435		2 var. <i>b</i>	+NADOLD REX	+SPERTINC ON IC
436			+HADD REX	+PVLCEET O LNC
437	London ...	I	+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LVND
438			+HAROLD REX A	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LVND
439			+HAROLOD REX	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LVND
440			+HAROLD REX A	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LVNDE
441			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRED ON LVNDE
442			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRIC ONN LVND
443			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRIC ON LVNDE
444			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRIC ON LVNDEN
445			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRIC ONN LVNDEN
446			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRIC ON LVNDENE
447			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON LVNDEN
448			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPOLD ON LVNDE
449			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPOLD ONN LVNDE
450			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLLFNOÐ ON LVND
451			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLPINE ON LVND
452			+HAROLD REX	+ÆREMAN ON LVN
453			+HAROLD REX	+BRHTMÆR ON LVND
454			+HAROLD REX	+BRIHTMÆR ON LV
455			+HAROLD RE	+BRIHTMÆR ON LV
456			+HAROLOLD RE	+BRIHTMÆR ON LV
457			+HAROLD R	+BRVN ON LVNDENE
458			+HAROLLD REX	+BRVN ON LVNDENE
459			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNGAR ON LVND

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
460	London, <i>contd.</i>	I	+HAROLD RECX	+BRVNMAN ON LVND
461			+HAROLD REX	+CÆRENAN ON LVD
462			+HAROLD RECX	+CINEPIG ON LVND
463			+HAROLD REC	+CINEPOLD ON LVN
464			+HAROLD REX	+CINEPOLD ON LVND
465			+HAROLD RECX	+CINEPOLD ON LVND
466			+HAROLD REX	+CINEPOLD ON LVNDE
467			+HAROLD RECX A	+CINEPOLD ON LVNDE
468			+HAROLD REX	+CORF ONN LVNDENE
469			+HAROLD RECX	+CORF ONN LVNDENEE
470			+HAROLD REX	+DVDDINE ON LV
471			+HAROLD REX	+DVDDINE ON LVND
472			+HAROLD RE	+EADPOLD ON LVNDE
473			+HAROLD REX	+EDHIE ON LVNDEN
474			+HAROLD REX	+EDRÆD ON LVNDEN
475			+HAROLD REX	+EDRÆD ON LVNDEN
476			+HAROLD RECX	+EDRÆD ONN LVNDENE
477			+HAROLD RE	+EDRIC ON LVNDENE
478			+HAROLD RE	+EDRIC ON LVNDEN
479			+HAROLD RE	+EDPIG ON LVND
480			+HAROLD RECX	+EOPINE ON LVNDEN
481			+HAROLD REX	+FÆREMAN ON LVD
482			+HAROLD REX	+FÆREMAN ON LVND
483			+HAROLD RECX	+GODD ON LVNDEN
484			+HAROLD REX	+GODMAN ON LVNDEN
485			+HAROLD RECX	+GODMON ON LVND
486			+HAROLD RECX	+GODRIC ON LVN
487			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LVND
488			+HAROLD REX	+GODPIN STEPER O LV
489			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE ON LVNDE
490			+HAROLD RE	+GODPINE ON LVNDE
491			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPINE ON LVNDEN
492			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE STEPE ON LV
493			+HAROLD REX	+GODPIN STEPER O LV
494			+HAROLD RE	+GOLDSIGE ON LVN
495			+HAROLD RE	+GOLDSIGE ON LVN
496			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRED ON LVND
497			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRED ON LVN
498			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFRED ON LVN
499			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRED ON LVND
500			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRED ON LVNDE
501			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRED ON LVNDON
502			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON LVND
503			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ON LVND
504			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ON LVND

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
505	London, <i>contd.</i>	1	+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ON LVNDE
506			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFSTAN ON LVND
507			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFSTAN ON LVND
508			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFSTAN ON LVND
509			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPINE ON LVNDE
510			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON LVNDE
511			+HAROLD REX A	+LEOFPINE ON LVNDENE
512			+HAROLD REX	+LEORIC ON LVND
513			+HAROLD RE	+LIFINC ON LVNDE
514			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINC ON LVNDE
515			+HAROLD REX A	+LIFINCE ONN LVNDENE
516			+HAROLD REX	+ÐERMAN ON LVND
517			+HAROLD RE	+ÐVDINEI ON LVND
518			+HAROLD RE	+VLFCIL ON LVDINE
519			+HAROLD RE	+PIDIA ON LVNDDE
520			+HAROLD RE	+PIDIA ON LVNDE
521			+HAROLD RE	+PIDIA ON LVNDEN
522			+HAROLD RE	+PIDIGE ON LVNDE
523			+HAROLD REX A	+PIDIA ON LVNDENE
524			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON LVN
525			+HAROLD REX A	+PVLFPINE ON LVN
526			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON LVN
527			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPINE ON LVNDE
528			+HAROLD REX	+PVLGAR ON LVN
529			+HAROLD REX	+PVLGAR ON LVNDE
530			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIGE ON LVND
531			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIGE ON LVNDE
532			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIGE PAMANEA O LV
533			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIGE ON LVND
534		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRED ON LVN
535			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRED ON LVND
536			+HAROLD REC	+BRHTMÆR ON LV
537			+HAROLD REX	+BRIHTMÆR O LV
538			+HAROLD REC	+BRIHTMÆR O LV
539			+HAROLD REC	+BRIHTMÆR O LV
			variety, see fig. 16	
540			+HAROLD REC	+BRIHTMÆR O LV ⁷
541			+HAROLD REX A	+BRIHTMR ON LVN
542			+HAROLD REC	+BRIHTTMÆR O LV
543			+HAROLD REC	+BRVGAR ON LVN
544			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNEAR ON LV
545			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNGAR O LV
546			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNGAR ON LV
547			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNGAR ON LV
548			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNGAR ON LV ⁷

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
549	London, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD RECX	+BRVNGAR ON LV
550			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNGAR O LVN
551			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNGAR O LVN
552			+HAROLD RECX	+BRVNGAR O LVN
553			+HAROLD REC	+COOLTSIG O LV
554			+HAROLD RECX	+CORF ON LVNDE
555			+HAROLD REC	+CORF ON LVNDENE
556			+HAROLD REX	+CORF ON LVNDENE
557			+HAROLD REX	+CORFF ON LVN
558			+HAROLD REC	+CORFF ON LVN
559			+HAROLD RECX	+CORFF ON LVN
560			+HAROLD RECX	+CORFF ONN LVN
561			+HAROLD REC	+CORFF ON LVND
562			+HAROLD REX	+CORFF ON LVNDE
563			+HAROLD REX	+EDRIC ON LVN
564			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ON LVN
565			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ONN LVN
566			+HAROLD REX	+EDRIC ONN LVN
567			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ON LVND
568			+HAROLD RECX	+EDRIC ON LVND
569			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ONN LVND
570			+HAROLD REC	+EDRICE ONN LVN
571			+HAROLD REC	+EDRICE ONN LVND
572			+HAROLD REC	+EDRICE ONN LVD
573			+HAROLD REC	+EDPAL ON LVN
574			+HAROLD REX	+EDPALD ON LVN
575			+HAROLD REX	+EDPALD ON LVN
576			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPALD ON LVN
577			+HAROLD REC	+EDPERD ONO LV
578			+HAROLD REX	+EDPOL ONN LVN
579			+HAROLD REX A	+EDPOLD ON LV
580			+HAROLD REX	+EDPOLD ON LVN
581			+HAROLD REC	+EDPOLD ON LVN
582			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPOLD ON LV
583			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPOLD ON LVN
584			+HAROLD REC	+EDPOLD ON LVND
585			+HAROLD RECX	+GOD ON LVNDE
586			+HAROLD REC	+GODISIGE ON LV
587			+HAROLD REX	+GODMAN ON LVN
588			+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON LVN
589			+HAROLD RECX	+GODRIC ON LVN
590			+HAROLD RECX	+GODRIC ON LVN
591			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON LVNI
592			+HAROLD REX	+GODSII ONN LVN
593			+HAROLD REC	+GODSII ONN LVN

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
594	London, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD RE	+GODSII ON LVN
595			+HAROLD REC	+GODPIIE ON LVN
596			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE O LV
597			+HAROLD RE	+GODPINE ON LV
598			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE ON LV
599			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE O LVN
600			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE ON LVN
601			+HAROLD REC X	+GODPINE OI LVN
602			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE ON LVN
603			+HAROLD REC X A	+GODPINE ON LVND
604			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINEE ON LV
605			+HAROLD REX	+GOLDSIE ON LVN
606			+HAROLD REC	+GOLDSIE ON LVN
607			+HAROLD REC	+GOLSIGE ON LVN
608			+HAROLD REC	+GOLSII ON LVND
609			+HAROLD REC	+GOLSIIGE ON LV
610			+HAROLD REC	+GOLTSIG ON LVN
611			+HAROLD REC X A	+GOLTSIG ON LVN
612			+HAROLD REC	+GOLTSIGE ON LV
613			+HAROLD REC	+GOLTSII ON LVN
614			+HAROLD REX	+GOLTSIIGE O LVN
615			+HAROLD REC	+GOOLTSIG O LV
616			+HAROLD REX	+GOPINE ON LVND
617			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON LVND
618			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRED ON LV
619			+HAROLD REC X	+LEOFRED ON LV
620			+HAROLD REC X	+LEOFRED O LVN
621			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRED ON LVN
622			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRED ON LVND
623			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRIC O LVN
624			+HAROLD REC X	+LEOFRIC ON LVN
625			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ON LVN
626			+HNROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ON LVN
627			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON LVN
628			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRIC ON LVN
629			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRIC ONN LVND
630			+HARILD REX	+LEOFRNE ON LVI
631			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFSTAN O LV
632			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFSTAN ON LV
633			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFSTAN ON LVN
634			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPI ON LVN
635			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIINE ON LV
636			Unascertained.	+LEOFFINE ON LVN
637			+HAROLD REC	+LEOORED ON LVD
638			+HAROLD REC	+LEOSTAN O LV

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
639	London, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD RE	+LIFFINE ON LVND
640			+HAROLD REX	+LIFFINE ON LVND
641			+HAROLD RE	+LIFIN O LVILVN
642			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINE ONN LVN
643			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINE ON LVND
644			+HAROLD REC X	+LIFINE ON LVND
645			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINE ON LVNDE
646			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINE ON VND
647			+HAROLD REC	+LIFRED ON LVN
648			+HAROLD REC	+LIFRED ONI LVN
649			+HAROLD REC	+LIFRED ONN LVN
650			+HAROLD REX	+LIFRED ON LVND
651			+HAROLD REC	+LLIFINE ON LV
652			+HAR ... REC X	+RA VND ³
653			+NADOLD REX	+PNSICE ON LVNI
654			+NAR LD REX	+PNSIEE ON IVN
655			+HAROLD RX	+PNSIGE ON LVN
656			+HAROLD REC	+PNSIIE ON IVN
657			Unascertained.	+PVLFRIC ON LV ⁷
658			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFPERD ON L
659			+HAROLD REC	+PVLFPIE ON L
660			+HAROLD REEX	+PVLSIE ON LVND
661			+HAROLD REX	+PVLSTN ON LVND
662			+HAROLD REEX	+PVLSTN ON LVND
663			+HAROLD REC X A	+PVLPII ONN VN
664			+HAROLD REX A	+PVNSIE ON LVND
665			+HAROLD REC X	+PVNSIE ON LVNDE
666			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIG ON LVN
667			+HAROLD RE	+PVNSIGE ON LV
668			+HAROLD REC	+PVNSIGE ON LVN
669			+HAROLD REC X	+PVNSIGE ON LVN
670			+HAROLD REC	+PVNSIGE ON LVND
671			+HAROLD REX	+PVNSIGE ON LVND
672			+HAROLD REX A	+PVNSIGE ON LVND
673			+HAROLD REC	+PVNSIIG O LVN
674			+HAROLD REC	+PVNSIIG ON LVN
675			+HAROLD REC	+EDPALD ðEALDA ON L
676		Mule: Obv. Type 2. Rev. Cnut. Hild. type 1. 2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REC	+EDPALD ðEALDA ON LV
677			+HAROLD REC	+ÆDELPINE ON L
678			+HAROLD REC	+BRIHTMÆR ON LV
679			+HAROLD REC	+COLD SIGE ON L
680			+HAROLD REC X	+CORFF ONN LVN
681			+HAROLD REC	+CORRF ONN LVND
682			+HAROLD REC X	+EDPINE ON LVND

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
683	London, <i>contd.</i>	2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON LVN
684			+HAROLD REC	+GOLSIIGE ON LV
685			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFRED ON LV
686			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFRED O LVN
687			+HAROLD REC	+LIFN ONN LVN
688	Lydford ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFRIE ON LYDAF
689		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON LYDA
690	Maldon ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFDEGEN ON MEL ¹⁰
691		2	+HAROLD REX	+PVLLFPINE ON MÆLD
692			+HAROLD REX A	+GODMAN ON MEL ¹⁰
693			+HAROLD REC	+GODMAN ON MEL ¹⁰
694	Malmesbury	1	+HAROLD REX A	+HVNNA ON MELMES
695	Norwich ...	1	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆFICE ON NORÐPIC
696			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFFPALD ON NOR
697			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFFPALD ON NOR
698			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFIPALD ON NOR
699			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON NOR
700			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFPINE ON NORÐPIC
701			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFPOLD O NORÐPI
702			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLPINE O NORÐPIC
703			+HAROLD REX	+MANA ON NORÐPI
704			+HAROLD REX	+MANNA ON NORÐPIC
705		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPOLD O NORÐ
706			+HAROLD REX A	+ALFPOLD O NOR
707			+HAROLD REC	+BOGA ONN NO
708			Unascertained.	+LEOFRIE ON NOR
709			HAROLD RECX A	+LEFPINE ON NORÐ
710			+HAROD REX A	+LEOFPINE O NO
711			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFPINE O NORÐ
712			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPINE O NORÐ
713			+HAROLD REC	+LEOPINE ON NORÐ
714			+HAROLD REC	+LEOPINE ON NORÐ
715			+HAROLD REX	+MAIIIA ON NORÐ
716			+HAROLD REO	+MANA ON NORÐ
717			+HAROLD REX	+MANNA ON NORÐ
718			+HAROLD RECX	+MANNA ON NORÐ
719			+HAROLD REX	+MANNA ON NORÐ
720			+HAROLD REC	+MANNA ON NORÐ
721			+HAROLD REX	+RINVLF ON NOR
722			Unascertained	+RINEVLF ON NORÐ

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
723	Nottingham	1	+HAROLD REX	+BLACAMAN ON SNOT
724			+HARLD REX	+SÆGRIM ON SNOTIN
725			+HAROLD REX	+SÆGRIM ONN SNOT
726		2	+HARLD REX	+BLACAMAN O SN
727			+HAROLD REX	+BLACAMAN O SNE
728			+HARLD REX	+BLACAMAN O SNE
729			+NAROD REX	+SÆGRIM ON SNO
730	Oxford ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+E N XANA ²
731			+HAROOLD RE	+GODPINE ON OEXE
732			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE ON OXEN
733			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOPINE ON OEX
734			+HAROLD REX	+LIFNIC ONN LOXSE
735			+HAROLD REX	+COLAMAN ON OEX
		Mule: Obv., 1. Rev., 2.		
736		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆGELPIG ON OEX
737			+HAROLD REC	+ÆGLRIC ON OEX
738			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON OEX
739			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLMÆR ON OEXE
740			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLMÆR ON OEXE
741			+HAROLD REC	+COLAMAN . OEX
742			+HAROLD RECX	+EDPIG ONN OEX
743			+HAROLD REC	+GODPIINE ON OE
744			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPIINE ON OE
745			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPIINE ON OEX
746			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE ON OEX
747			+HAROD REX A	+LEOPINE ON O
748			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOPINE ONN OEX
749			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINE ON OEX
750			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINE ON OEXE
751			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINE ON OXAN
752			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINE ON OXAN ⁷
753			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINCE ON OEXE
754			+HAROLD REC	+LIFINCE ON OEXE
755		2 var. a	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLPIG ONN ONX
756			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLPIG ON ONX
757	Rochester ...	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFE ONN RONROFEC
758		2	+HAROLD REC	+GODPIIN ON ROC
759	Romney ...	1	+HAROD RECX A	+PVLNOÐ ON RVME
760		2	+HAROLD REC	+EDMÆR ONI RVM
761			+HAROLD RE	+PVLNOÐ ON RVM
762			+HAROLD REC	+PVLNOÐ ON RVM

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
763	Salisbury ...	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFRED ON ZE
764			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFRED ON SEREB
765			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE ON SERE
766			+HAROLD REX	+PINSTAN ON SÆR
767			+HAROLD REX A	+PINSTAN ON SÆR
768			+HAROLD REX A	+PINSTAN ON SER
769		2	+HAROLD REX	+PINSTANIC ON SERB
770			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFRED ON SER
771			+HAROLD REC	+GODPINE ON SE
772			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPINE ON SER
773			+HAROLD REC	+PINSTAN ON SE
774			+HAROLD REC	+PINSTAN ON SER
775		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFRED ONN SER
776			+HAROLD RECX	+GODPINE ON SER
777	Shaftesbury	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELRIC ON SCEFT
778		2	+HAROLD REX	+LIFSTAN ON SCE
779			+NIOD REC	+PVLFRIC ON SEET
780			+HAROLD RECX	+PVLFRIC ON SEFT
781	Shrewsbury	1	+HAROLD REX	+LEFSTAN ON SCRO
782			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFSTAN O SCREOB
783			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFSTAN ON SCRO
784			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFGT ONN SCROB
785			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFRID ON SCROB
786			.....	+.....NE ON SCR... ²
787		2	+HAROLD REC	+LEOFSTAN O SE
788			+HAROLD RE	+LEOPNE ON SEO
789			+.....	+LE.....OBE ²
790			+HAROLD REX	+PVFGT ON SEOB
791			+HAROLD REX	+PVFGT ON SEOB
792			+HAROLD REX	+PVLFRD O SEOB
793	Southampton	1	+HAROLD RE	+ÆLFPINE ON HAM
794			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFPINE ON HAMTV
795			+HAROLD REX	+LEEOFFINE ON HAM
796		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON HAM
797			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON HAMT
798			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLPINE ONN HAM
799			+HAROLD REX	+ELFPINE O HAM
800			+HAROLD REC	+ELFPINE ON HAM
801			+HAROLD RECX	+LEEOFFINE O HAM
802			+HAROLD REC	+LEFPINE ON HAM
803			+HAROLD REX	+LEFPNE ON HAM ⁷
804			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPIINE O HAM

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
805	Southwark...	1	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ONN SVÐ
806			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRIC ONN SVÐG
807			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON SVÐGE
808			+HAROLD RE	+LIFINC ONN SVÐG
809			+HAROLD REX	+LIFINC ON SVÐGEEP
810	Stafford ...	2	+HAROD RECX	+ÆLFRIC ON STÆF
811			+HAROD RECX	+ÆLFRIC ONN STF
812			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFRIC ONN STF
813	Stamford ...	1	+HAROLD REE	+BRVNPINE ON STA
814			+HAROLD REI	+BRVNPINE ON SA
815			+HAROLD RE	+BRVNPINE ON STA
816			+HAROLD REI	+BRVNPINE ON STA
817			+HAROLD RECX AN	+FÆRGIM ON STA
818			+HARORD REX	+FARGRIM ON STANF
819			+HARORD REX	+FARGRIM ON STAF
820			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON STANF
821			+HAROLD RE	+GODRIC ON STANFO
822			+HAROLD REEX	+GODPINE ON STAN
823			+HAROLD RE	+GORIC ON STANFOR
824			+HAROLD REX	+LEFECDEI ON STAN
825			+HAROLD R	+LEFEDÆI ON STAN
826			+HAROLD REX	+LEFEDÆI ON STAN
827			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRIC ON STAILO
828			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRIC ON STAN
829			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRIC ON STANFO
830			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRIC ON STANVO
831			+HAROLD REX	+LEFRIC ON STANF
832			+HAROLD R	+LEOFDÆI ON STANF
833			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFDÆII ON STANFO
834			+HAROLD R	+LEOFRIC ON STA
835			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFRIC ON STAN
836			+HAROLD REI	+LEOFRIC ON STAN
837			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON STANF
838			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRNE ON STA
839			.....	+..... NE ONN ST.... ²
840			+HAROLD REX A	+LIFNCC ON STANFOR
841			+HAROLD REI	+OSPARD ON STANF
842			+HAROLD RECX	+SPERT ONN STANFOFO
843			+HAROLD RECX	+SPERT ON SANVO
844			+HAROLD RECX	+ÐVRSTA ON STAF
845			+HAROLD REX	+ÐVRSTAN ON STANF
846			+HAROLD REX	+ÐVRSTAN ON STANFO
847			+HAROLD RECX	+ÐVROLF ON STANFO

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
848	Stamford, <i>conid.</i>	1	+HAROLD RECX	+ÐVROLF ONN STANFO
849			+HAROD RECX	+ÐVRVLF ON STANFO
850		2	+HAROLD REC	+ARCIL ONN STA
851			+HAROLD REC	+ARCIL ON STA
852			+HAROLD REX	+ARCIL ON STA
853			+HAROLD REC	+ARCYL ONN STA
854			+HAROLD REX	+ARNCITEL ON STA
855			Unascertained.	+BL O STA ³
856			+HAROLD REX	+BRNPINE ON STAI
857			+HARLD RE	+BRVPI M-O STA
858			+HARLD RE	+BRVPI ON STA
859			+HAROLD RE	+BRVNPINE O STA
860			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNPINE ON STA
861			Unascertained.	+BRVNPINE ON STAN
862			+HAROLD RECX	+CASTRI ON STAN
863			+HAROLD RECX	+EÐRAIN ON STA
864			+HAROLD RECX	+FÆRGIM O STA
865			+HAROLD REC	+FÆRGIM O STA
866			+HAROLD REC	+FÆRGIM O STAN
867			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON STA
868			+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON STA
869			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON STA
870			+HAROLDLD RE	+GODPINE OIN STA
871			+HAROLDLD RE	+GODPINE ON STA
872			+HAROLD REX	+GODPNE ON STA
873			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE ON STA
874			+HAROLD RECX	+LEFRIC ON STANF
875			+HAROLD REC	+LELPINE ON STA
876			+HAROLD REX	+SPART ON STA
877			+HAROLD REX	+SPART ON STAN
878			+HAROLD REX A	+SPART ON STAN
879			+HAROLD REC	+SPERT ONN STA
880			+HAROLD REX A	+ÐVRVLF ON STA
881			+HAROLD REX A	+ÐVRVLF ON STAN
882			+HAROLD REC	+ÐVRVLF ON STAN
883		2 var. a	+HAROLD REE	+ÆLFPNE ON STA
884			+HAROLD REX	+ARCIL ON STAN
885			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNPINE ON STAC
886			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNPINE ON STA
887			+HAROLD REX	+CASGRI ON STAN
888			+HAROLD REX	+CASLF ON STAN
889			+HAROLD RECX	+FÆRGIM O STA
890			+HAROLD REC	+GODRIC ON STA
891			+HAROLD REX	+GODRIC ON STAN
892			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFRE ON STAN

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
893	Stamford,	2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+SPART ON STAN
894	<i>contd.</i>		+HAROLD REEC	+ÐVRLET O STAN
895			+HAROLD RIX	+PILRIM ON STAF
896	Steyning ...	2	+HAROLD REC	+FRIÐEPINE O STE
897			+HAROLD RECX	+FRIÐEPINE O STE
898	Tamworth ...	2	+HARONLD REX	+ALSANF ON TAM
899			+HARLD REX	+ALSANF ON TAM
900	Thetford ...	1	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆGELMER ON ÐEOTFOR
901			+HAROLD REX	+ÆGLMÆR ON ÐEODF
902			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆGLMÆR ON ÐEODF
903			+HAROLD RECC	+ÆLFPALD ON ÐEOTFORD
904			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON ÐE
905			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON ÐEOTFOR
906			Unascertained.	+ÆLFPI . . . DF
907			+HAROLD RECX	+BRVNNSTAN ON ÐEOTF
908			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNSTAN ON ÐEOD
909			+HAROLD REX	+LEFPINE ON ÐEOTFORDE
910			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFPINE ON ÐEOD
911			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFPINE ON ÐEODF
912		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPIGG ONN ÐEO
913			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ONNL ÐEO
914			+HAROLD RECX A	+ÆLFPINE ONNL ÐEO
915			+HAROLD RECX A	+ÆLFPINE ON ÐEOD
916			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLPINE ONN ÐEOT
917			+HAROLD RECX A	+ÆLPINE ONN ÐEOT
918			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNSTAN O ÐE
919			+HAROLD REC	+BRVNSTAN ON ÐE
920			+HAROLD REX A	+BRVNSTAN ON ÐE
921			+HAROLD RECX A	+BRVNSTAN O ÐEO
922			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ONN ÐE
923			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ON ÐEO
924			+HARO RECX A	+EDRIC ONN ÐEO
925			+HARO RECX A	+EDRIC ON ÐEOD
926			+HAROLD REC	+EDRIC ON ÐEODF
927			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFRIC ON ÐEO
928			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFRIC ON ÐEO
929			+HAROLD REX	+LEFPINE ON ÐEOD
930			+HAROLD REC	+LEFPINE ON ÐEOD
931			+HAROLD RECX AN	+LEOFPINE ON ÐEO
932			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFPNE ON ÐEO
933			+HAROLD REC	+LEOPINE ON ÐEOT
934			+HADJ.J.J.J D R[EC]	+[R]INCOLF ON Ð ^s

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
935	Thetford, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REX	+SPERTINE O ðE
936			Unascertained.	+PANE ON ðETR
937		2 var. <i>b</i>	+HAR.LD R	+ERARIC ON ðEF
938	Wallingford	1	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLPIG ONN PELINE
939			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLPIG ONN PELINGA
940			+HAROLD RX	+ÆLPINEE ONN PELINN
941			+HAROLD RE	+BVRPINE ON PELII
942		2	+HAROLD RECX A	+ÆLFPINE ONN PELI
943			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLPIG ON PELIN
944			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLRIC ONN PEL
945			+HAROLD REX	+BVRPIINE ON PE
946			+HAROLD REX	+BVRPIINE O PELN
947			+HAROLD RECX A	+BVRPIINE O PELN
948			+HAROLD REC	+EDPED ON PELI
949			+HAROLD REX	+EDPERD ON PELI
950			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFFPINE O PEL
951			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFFPINE ON PELI
952			+HAROLD REX	+PVLPIINE O PELI
953		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REEX	+ÆLRIC ONN PELI
954			+HAROLD RE	+ÆLPIG ON PELII
955			+HAROLD RECX A	+ÆLPINE ON PELII
956			+HAROLD REX	+EDPERD ON PEL
957	Warminster ⁹	1	+HAROLD REX	+PVLSTN ON PORIM
958	Warwick ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+GODD ON PÆRINCP
959			+HAROLD RE	+LEOFFPIG ON PÆRI
960		I var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFFPII ON PÆRINC
961		2	+HAROLD RECX	+GODA ON PÆRINC
962			Unascertained.	+LEOFFRIC ON PÆR
963			+HAROLD REC	+LEOFFPIG O PÆ
964			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFFPIG O PÆR
965			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFFPII ON PÆR
966	Watchet ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+GOTCILD ON PECD
967		2	+HAROLD REX	+GODCILDD ON PEC
968	Wilton ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFSTAN ON PILTVN
969		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFSTAN O PIL
970			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFSTAN ON PILT
971			+HAROLD RECX	+GOLSIIG ON PIL
972			HAROLD RECX	+LIFSTAN ON PILT
973		2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFSTAN ONN PLIL
974			+HAROLD RECX	+LIFINE ONN PILT

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
975	Winchester	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆSTANN ON PINCE
976			+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELRIC ON PINE
977			+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELRIC ON PICE
978			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFRIE ON PINE
979			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPERD ON PINE
980			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON PINCE
981			+HAROLD REX	+BRVNSTAN ON PIN
982			+HAROLD REX	+GODAMAN ON PINE
983			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE CE ON PI
984			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE CEOC ON PI
985			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE PIDI ON PIN
986			+HAROLD RECX	+LADMÆR ON PIN
987			+HAROLD RECX	+LADMÆR ON PINCEST
988			+HAROLLD REX	+LODMÆR ON PINE
989			+HAROLD REX	+SPILEMAN ON PINE
990			+HAROLD REX	+PIDIA ONN PINCE
991			+HAROLD REX	+PIDIA ONN PINCESTR
992			+HAROLD REX	+PVDIA ON PINCEST
993			+HAROLD RE	+PVLNOÐ ON PINCE
994			+HAROLD RECX	+PVLNOÐ ON PINCE
995			+HAROLD REX	+PYDIA ON PINCEST
996		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆLPINE ON PINE
997			+HAROLD RECX	+ÆLFINE ON PINE
998			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFSTAN ON PIN
999			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPINE ON PINE
1000			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON PINE
1001			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFPIG ON PINE
1002			+HAROLD RCX	+ÆLFPIG ON PINE
1003			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPIG ON PINE
1004			+HAROLD REC	+ÆSTAN ON PIN
1005			+HAROLD REC	+ÆSTAN ONN PIN
1006			+HAROLD REC	+EDPINE ON PINE
1007			+HAROLD REX	+EDPINE ON PINE
1008			+HAROLD REC	+ESTAN ON PINE
1009			+HAROLD REX	+GODPIINE ON PI
1010			+HAROLD REX	+GODPIINE ON PII
1011			+HAROLD REC	+GODPIINE ON PINE
1012			+HAROLD REX	+GODPINE ON PIN
1013			+HAROLD REX	+GOPINE ON PINE
1014			+HAROLD REC	+LADMÆR ON PIN
1015			+HAROLD RECX	+LADMÆR ON PINE
1016			+HAROLD RECX	+LEFSTAN ON PINE
1017			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFSTAN O PII
1018			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFSTAN ON PIN
1019			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFFINE O PINE

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1020	Winchester, <i>contd.</i>	2	+HAROLD REX	+LIIFINE ONN PINE
1021			+HAROLD REC	+LVFERIC ON PINE
1022			+HAROLD REX	+LVFRIC ON PIN
1023			+HAROLD RE	+SÆPERD ON PINE
1024			+HAROLD REC	+SPILEMAN ON PIN
1025			+HAROLD RECX A	+SPILEMAN ON PN
1026			+HAROLD REC	+SPRACVLF ON PI
1027			+HAROLD REX	+PIDIA ON PIINCE
1028			+HAROLD REX	+PIDIA ON PIN
1029			+HAROLD REEX	+PIDIG ON PINE
1030			+HAROLD RECX	+PIDIG ON PINE
1031			+HAROLD RECX	+PVLNOÐ ON PIN
1032			+HAROLD REC	+PVLNOÐ ON PINE
1033	Worcester ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELPINE ON PIHR
1034			+HAROLD RECX	+LEOFSTAN ON PIHRE
1035			+HAROLD REX	+LEOFSTAN ON PIHERA
1036			+HAROLD REX	+LVFRIC ONN PIHRA
1037		2	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELPINE ON PIHR
1038			+HAROLD REC	+ÆGLPIINE O PIHR
1039	York ...	1	+HAROLD REX	+ÆGELPINE ON EOFER
1040			+HAROLD REC	+ÆDELPINE ON EO
1041			+HAROLD REX	+ARCIL ON EOFERP
1042			+HAROLD REX	+ARNCIL ON EOFER
1043			+HAROLD REX	+ARNCITEL ON EOR
1044			+HAROLD R	+BEORN ON EOFER
1045			+HAROLD RE	+BEORNN ON EOFERP
1046			+HAROLD RE	+BEORNN ON EOFERP
1047			+HAROLD REX	+BEORNN ON EOFERP
1048			+HAROLD RECX	+BEORNN ON EOFERP
1049			+HAROLD REX	+CRVCAN ON EOFE
1050			+HAROLD REX	+CRVCANN ON EOFER
1051			+HAROLD REX	+DNFEOAM ON EOFER
1052			+HAROLD REX	+DVFCAN ON EOFER
1053			+HAROLD REX	+DVRACAN ON EOFER
1054			+HAROLD REX	+ERNCYTEL ON EOFER
1055			+HAROLD REX	+GRIMVLF ON EOFE
1056			+HAROLD REX	+GRIMVLF ON EOFERP
1057			+HAROLD REX	+GRIMVLF ON EOFR
1058			+HAROLD R	+ISCVLA ON EOFER
1059			+HAROLD RE	+OÐIN ON EOFERP
1060			+HAROLD REX	+SCVLA ION EOFER
1061			+HAROLD RE	+SCVLA ONN EOFERPI
1062			+HAROLD RECX	+SCVLA ON EOFERPIC

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1063	York, <i>contd.</i>	1	+HAROLD REX	+STIREOL ON EOFRPIC
1064			+HAROLD R	+SPEGEN ON EOFR
1065			+HAROLD RE	+SPEGEN ON EOFR
1066			+HAROLD REX	+DVRGRIM ON EO
1067			+HAROLD REX	+DVRGRIM ON EOF
1068			+HAROLD REC	+DVRGRIM ON EOF
1069			+HAROLD REC X	+DVRGRIM ON EOFR
1070			+HAROLD REX	+VCEDE ON EOFRP
1071			+HAROLD RCX	+VCEDE ON EOFRPIC
1072			+HAROLD REX	+PIÐERINE ON EOF
1073			+HAROLD RE	+PIÐERPINNE ON EO
1074			+HAROLD REC X	+PIÐERPINNE ON EO
1075			+HAROLD RE	+PIÐIRPINNE ON EO
1076		2	+HAROLD REC	+ÆLERE ON EOF
1077			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFERE ON EOF
1078			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFERE ON EOF
1079			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFERE ON EOF
1080			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON EOF
1081			+HAROLD REC	+ARCILL ON EOFR
1082			+HAROLD REC	+BEORN ON EOF
1083			+HAROLD REC	+BEORN ON EOF
1084			+HAROLD REC X	+EDP OFR
1085			+HAROLD REC	+ED OFR
1086			+HAROLD REC	+ERGRIM ON EOFR
1087			+HAROLD REC	+ERNGRIM ON EOF
1088			+HAROLD REX	+GODINE ON EORV
1089			+HAROLD REX	+GODMAN ON EO
1090			+HAROLD REC X	+GRIMVLF ON EOF
1091			+HAROLD REC	+GRMVLF ON EOF
1092			+HAROLD REC	+GRMVLF ON EOF
1093			+HAROLD REC	+GRMVLF ON EOF
1094			+HAROLD REX	+OÐINN ON EOF
1095			+HAROLD REC	+OÐINN ON EOF
1096			+HAROLD REC	+OÐIN ON EOFR
1097			+HAROLD REC X	+SEVLA ONN EOFR
1098			+HAROLD REX	+SEVLA ON EOPEN
1099			+HAROLD REC	+STIREOL ONN EOF
1100			+HAROLD REX A	+SPART ON EOF
1101			+HAROLD RE	+SPEGEN ON EOF
1102			+HAROLD REC	+SPEGEN ON EOF
1103			+HAROLD REX	+DVRGRIM ON EO
1104			+HAROLD REC	+DVRGRIM ON EO
1105			+HAROLD REC	+DVRGRIN ON EO
1106			+HAROLD REC	+VCEDEE ON EOF
1107			+HAROLD REC	+PIÐERINE ONN EOF

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1108	York, <i>contd.</i>	2 var. <i>a</i>	+HAROLD RE	+ÆGLMÆR ON EÆPIC
1109			+HAROLD REX	+ÆLFERE ON EOE
1110			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFERE ON EOE
1111			+HAROLD REC	+ÆLFPINE ON EOFE
1112			+HAROLD REC	+ARCILL ON EOEI
1113			+HAROLD REC	+ARCILL ON EOF
1114			+HAROLD REC	+BEORN ONN EOF
1115			+HAROLD REC	+ERNGRIM ON EO
1116			+HAROLD REC	+ERNGRIM ON EOF
1117			+HAROLD REC	+EDELPINE ON E
1118			+HAROLD REC X	+GRIMVLF ON EO
1119			+HAROLD REX	+OÐINN ONN EOF
1120			+HAROLD REC ¹¹	+OÐINN ONN EOF
1121			+HAROLD REC	+SEVLA ONN EOF
1122			+HAROLD REC	+SEVLA ONN EOFER
1123			+HAROLD REC	+STIRCOL ON EOF
1124			+HAROLD RE	+SPEGEN ON EOE
1125			+HAROLD RE	+SPEGEN ON EOFE
1126			+HAROLD RE	+SPEGLII ON EOE
1127			+HAROLD REC	+ÐVRGRIM ON EO
1128			+HAROLD REE	+ÐVRGRIM ON EO
1129			+HAROLD REX ¹¹	+VCEDE ON EOCE
1130			+HAROLD REC	+VCEDEE ON EOFE
1131			+HAROLD REX	+VCEDE ON EOFE
1132			+HAROLD REC	+PIIÐERINE ON EO
1133			+HAROLD REC ¹¹	+PIIÐERINE ON EO
1134			+HAROLD REC X	+PIIÐERINE ON EO
1135			+HAROLD REC	+PIÐERINE O EO
1136			+HAROLD REC ¹¹	+PIÐERINE O EO

NOTES.

¹ Erroneously given by *Hildebrand* to Leicester.

² Fragment.

³ Halfpenny.

⁴ This mint has been variously attributed to Jedburgh in Scotland, to Idbury in Oxfordshire, *Num. Chron.*, third series, vol. xv, 1895, and to Ythanburh, or Ythanceaster in Essex, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, 1907.

⁵ For the attribution to this mint see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909. Given by *Hildebrand* to Lancaster. The present writer prefers the attribution to Langport.

⁶ Erroneously given by *Hildebrand* to Chester.

⁷ Reverse inscription retrograde.

⁸ Broken.

⁹ Ascribed tentatively by *Hildebrand* to Warmington. For the attribution to Warminster see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1909.


¹⁰ Given by *Hildebrand* to Malmesbury. The evidence of the coins of Cnut and Edward the Confessor clearly shows, however, that the contraction MEL stands for Maldon, then Mældune. See also *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, 1913, pp. 12 and 13.

¹¹ Obverse bust and inscription retrograde.

¹² The band across the helmet is omitted on this coin of Lincoln. It was found in Scandinavia, and is possibly a continental imitation.

THE PROTOTYPE OF THE FIRST COINAGE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

VOLUTION of design in the coinage has perhaps not received all the attention which the interest, if not importance of the subject demands, although some useful work has been done in this connection from time to time, notably in Mr. Keary's "The Morphology of Coins,"¹ and in a paper by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden on "The Evolution of some reverse types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage."² Fruitful as this aspect of our coinage is in connection with post-Conquest issues, the possibilities opening out to the student of Saxon coins along the same line of enquiry are considerably greater, since the variations in the die-sinkers' work, at least so far as the obverses are concerned, are far more pronounced in the Saxon dispensation than subsequently. This was largely owing to the stricter supervision in the die-sinking office of the King's Exchequer in post-Conquest times, in contrast with the loose check imposed on the engravers by the King's Treasury in the Saxon period.

In the present note nothing of a comprehensive character regarding the evolution of design on the Saxon coins can be given, even on skeleton lines, but my ensuing remarks can be focussed round one point of the general theme which lends itself to separation from the major proposition by its appeal to collectors generally; for the subject of this enquiry is into the evolution of the Norman Conqueror's first coinage, which finds its prototype in the Saxon period. This initial issue of William I has always been of considerable interest to numismatists, and I believe it is almost universally

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885 and 1886.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, ii, 57-86.

taken for granted that the type was evolved from the coins of Harold II. At least that seems to be the general impression and, indeed, William's first type is often called "the Harold type," from a too superficial consideration of the two designs. Closer comparison, however, shows that there are essential differences between the two types which force us to look elsewhere for the prototype of William's coinage. On the obverse of Harold's coins there are no shoulders delineated below the King's head, which is amplified to show only the neck, admittedly, like that on William's first issue, a very long neck. Hence the introduction of the neck muscle on both issues. The head on Harold's coins is also confined within the inner space. On the other hand, William's first issue invariably discloses the shoulders, more or less pronounced, which divide the inscription. On the reverse, the designs of the two issues are so markedly different as to need no more demonstration than a glance at the illustrations, Figs. 1 and 2.



FIG 1.—PENNY OF HAROLD II.
H. A. PARSONS.



FIG 2.—PENNY OF THE FIRST TYPE
OF WILLIAM I. H. A. PARSONS.

It will therefore be realised that the hitherto accepted idea that William's coins were copied from Harold's is open to discussion.¹ On historical and sentimental grounds it has always been difficult for me to believe that the Conqueror would copy much from the coins of his rival; historically, because of the known fact that, in the Acts of William I, and notably in the Domesday record, Harold II as king was consistently ignored; and sentimentally, because he was anathematised, and everything connected with him would or should

¹ In *British Numismatic Journal*, ii, 127, 131-133, Major P. Carlyon-Britton raised the question whether the design of William's first type was derived from Harold's or from the last type of the Confessor.

have been destroyed. Hence, I think, William's first coins would naturally differ, to a considerable extent, from those of Harold II, and we must look further back into the Saxon period for their prototype. But we ought not to have to look far back for two theoretical reasons: first, William's obvious desire to retain as many of the Saxon customs and institutions as his dignity and safety permitted would prompt him to retain all that was possible of the institutions of the old regime, and, indeed, in pursuing his claim that he was the successor to the throne by right, and not by conquest, such a course would naturally follow. Secondly, his friendship with and indebtedness to Edward the Confessor would lead him to obtain his ideas from the issues of that king; that is if he were consulted, or if he were not, as is possible, the same reasons would prompt his chief cuneator to look to that source for inspiration. Indeed, if the assumptions of the late Mr. Spicer¹ and of Major P. Carlyon-Britton² were correct, the same cuneator, Theodric the goldsmith, was responsible for the coins both of Edward and of the early types of William. However that may be, a new variety of the Confessor's last type, which I can now bring forward is, I think, the immediate prototype of William's initial issue, at least so far as the obverse is concerned.

This type of Edward is No. 15 in the British Museum Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon series, vol. ii; and No. 11, and last, in Major Carlyon-Britton's treatise on the coin types of Edward the Confessor.³ Although, as before remarked, the coins of the Saxon kings show, in the main, considerable variation of design in each type, this, the last of the Confessor's, is particularly remarkable for departures from the general design. A notable illustration of this is in the coins, of which so very few are known, represented by Hildebrand as Type I, variety *a*, and in the British Museum Catalogue as Type XIV, but which of recent years have been regarded as mule coins. In my opinion these coins are neither a type, as such, nor mules. They do

¹ "The Coinage of William I and II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1904.

² "A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I and II," *British Numismatic Journal*, ii, 127-128.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

not constitute a distinct type, for the reason that the reverse design is of the normal, though distinctive, design of Edward's last issue; and they are not mules, because there is no counterpart of the obverse in the preceding issues of coins. Although full faced, like the penultimate issue of the Confessor, there are essential differences in detail. The explanation, therefore, of these coins is that they are trial, or pattern, pieces. It is not usual to associate these words with our early coinages, but, on the general merits of the question, there is more probability of such assays having been issued than otherwise, and it is a feature which cannot, with safety, be ignored in dealing with types of coins of the Saxon period. It would be an extremely narrow view to restrict trial and pattern pieces, and I may add commemorative pieces,¹ to modern times alone. Possibly a further illustration of the same thing is given in the decidedly new and distinctive variant of the Confessor's last type, illustrated as Fig. 3. However that may be, the coin more nearly resembles the Conqueror's first issue than does the coinage of Harold II.



FIG 3.—VARIETY OF THE LAST TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

H. A. PARSONS.

The main departures of this new variety from the standard design of Edward, see Fig. 4, are :—



FIG. 4.—LAST TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. H. A. PARSONS.

- i. The absence of a tassel dependant from the crown, a very characteristic feature of the main type.

¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, pp. 285-89.

2. The pearling of the crown where, in the main type, such ornamentation is generally absent.
3. The division of the crown into two, instead of three, parts.
4. The engraving of the mantle right across the body instead of, as in the main type, simply over the shoulders leaving exposed the tunic beneath.

Departures 1 to 3 are common also to the coins of Harold II, see Fig. 1, but all four are peculiar to William's first issue, see Fig. 2, and the last, that of the shoulders breaking into the legend, constitutes, of course, the cardinal difference between Harold's coins and those of William or, indeed, between Harold's pennies and any type immediately before or after his time.

This new variant, Fig. 3, of the Confessor's money, like the normal issue, Fig. 4, has the bust engraved to the right, whereas the common design, Fig. 2, of William's first issue, has the bust engraved to the left, but the latter was probably not the initial issue of the type, for there are some rare variants, Fig. 5, with the bust engraved in the same direction as that on the new penny of the Confessor now brought under notice, Fig. 3. A comparison of the one with the other shows how nearly related the two coins are.



FIG 5.—PENNY OF WILLIAM I, FIRST TYPE, WITH BUST TO RIGHT.

So far as the reverse is concerned, the difference between the designs on Harold's and William's coins is still more marked, for the simple word PAX between two lines of the former has no relation to the floral ornamentation of the Conqueror's first issue. No very direct prototype for this latter is to be found on prior coins, although the basic idea is explained by Mr. W. Sharp Ogden in the work already quoted. On the Conqueror's second type we have, on the reverse, a

repetition of the Confessor's last type, with the exception that the pyramidal ornaments are based on the cross instead of on the inner circle, see Figs. 4 and 6.



FIG. 6.—PENNY OF WILLIAM I, SECOND TYPE. H. A. PARSONS.

Here I should remark that nothing very convincing can be gleaned from a consideration of the reverse designs of the coins of the period. Certain types constantly recur as, for example, the small cross ; but this is rather in the nature of repetition than evolution. Here and there, also, unusual features were introduced for special reasons, as in the case of the *ERVX* type of Æthelred II, for the interpretation of which see my article on the "Coin Types of Ethelred II."¹

With the obverses of the various types of English coins it is different. From the late Saxon period to the Commonwealth the king is represented on the coins, except for certain gold issues and late small denominations in silver. Although strict portraiture, even in painting, was unknown at the beginning of this period, certain characteristic features of the sovereign, or of his dress, were introduced on the coinage, making it possible to trace evolution from one design to another, and to mark changing fashion.

Having shown, therefore, that a more direct link exists between the obverse of the initial coinage of William I and that of the last issue of Edward the Confessor than obtains between the coins of Harold II and William, it will be interesting to trace the initiation of the design of the latter and to locate the period which most readily appeals to one as commencing the sequence. This period can be dated from the time of the introduction of a beard on the king's

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, p. 281 *et seq.*

face, and of the revival of the crown on his head. The introduction of a beard dates only from the seventh type of Edward the Confessor. It marks quite a decided advancement in the art of delineation, and it continued on the coins right through the remainder of the Saxon period and on into Norman times.

Remarkable as it may seem, the crown is quite unusual on the coins of the late Saxon period from Edward the Martyr, a helmet being generally depicted. The crown first appears in this period in what I regard as the initial issue of Canute the Great, namely, Hildebrand Type E, and it is not even general on that issue, since the helmet also occurs on some scarce coins of the type. The helmet reappears on the following issue and continued to hold its ground through the major part of Canute's reign, and during the whole of the time of his two successors, Harold I and Harthacnut, reappearing again in the time of Edward the Confessor's eighth issue, the "sovereign" type, which otherwise claims a Byzantine derivation.

The crown on the Confessor's coins was first of all of the plain variety, and remained so until his last type, when a few of the coins, including the new variant, Fig. 3, were struck with a crown ornamented with pearls, which are generally to be found upon it in subsequent issues.

From the crown and the beard we descend to the mantle and armour, the well-defined features which throw the coins of Harold II into a less direct source of inspiration for William's first issue since, as before mentioned, there are no shoulders depicted on Harold's issue, and, as a consequence, the design does not break into the surrounding inscription. The mantle, or armour, is never absent from the coins of the late Saxon period, with the exceptions of the eighth, or sovereign, type of the Confessor, and of the issue of Harold II. This, perhaps, would naturally follow the almost universal use of the helmet down to the period of the "sovereign" type of Edward the Confessor.

Although the crown is continued in the following types the king is disenthroned, and the mantle reappears and is continued for a long period, the unusual issue of Harold II alone excepted. Having

traced, therefore, the characteristics of the last few issues of the Confessor and shown their intimate relation with the first type of William, with special reference to the unpublished variant of Edward's last type which shows so close a resemblance to William's first, I think I may close with the suggestion that an appropriate name for the latter would be "the Confessor type."

A REMARKABLE PENNY OF HENRY II.

BY MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.



Obverse : ✠HENRI REX S

Reverse : ✠RICARD : ON : IVELL Ilchester.

Weight, 22 grains.

THIS coin is of the first general regal issue of Henry II, known colloquially as the Tealby type. The issue of this class continued until its supersession by the "short-cross" type in the year 1180, but it is capable of subdivision into many classes according to the obverse legends and styles of portraying the royal bust. This work has been done by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, whose paper on the subject was published in volume xiv of the Society's *Journal*.

The term "remarkable" is applied to my specimen on account of the letter **s** placed at the end of the obverse legend. Only two other specimens with this reading have been noted: one, formerly in my collection and now in that of Mr. Lawrence, is illustrated as Fig. 24 in the plate facing page 96 of volume i of this *Journal*, the other was contained in the Lark Hill find, Worcester, and is in the British Museum. The mints in both cases are indecipherable, but Mr. Lawrence attributes the Lark Hill specimen to London on

account of the presence of a portion of the moneyer's name, namely **FVINE**, which he completes **LEFVINE**. On the assumption that he is right in this attribution we have two mints whereat the mysterious **S** appears in the obverse legend: mints situated a long way apart, Ilchester in Somerset, and London. The styles of the three known specimens also vary to such a degree that it is difficult to believe that all can be brought within any one of the sub-classes defined by Mr. Lawrence. These considerations appear to show that the occurrence of the letter **S** is not due to locality and, what is more difficult, that its appearance is not readily to be assigned to a certain period of time during which this form of legend was of universal application.

I am inclined, however, to think that the presence of the added **S** must be held to over-ride minor differences of style, and that the coins so marked must be regarded as having been issued at approximately the same period.

What, then, does this letter **S** signify? My answer is that the Latin word *Secundus* is indicated, thus making the extended legend Henri[cus] Rex S[ecundus], a designation used by Henry II in his charters and rolls. This would represent the earliest attempt to record upon English coins the numerical order of succession of kings bearing the same name. With the introduction of the short-cross coinage this tentative experiment in reasonable identification was abandoned, and the type of the coinage became so stabilised that the name Henricus served not only for Henry II but for Richard I, John, and Henry III.

The last-named king, soon after the long-cross coinage was instituted, in 1247, was at first described in words as Henricus Rex Terци' = Henricus Rex Tertius. Later the numeral III was substituted for Terци', a practice continued to the close of the reign.

No further attempt was made to record upon the coins the numerical order of succession of sovereigns bearing the same name until late in the reign of Henry VII, from which time until the present day it has always been the practice to state the same by words or figures.

The first sovereign of a name, of course, has no numerical designation added, and William III and Mary II, reigning in conjunction, are not distinguished by added numerals, although William III, after Mary's death, is so identified.

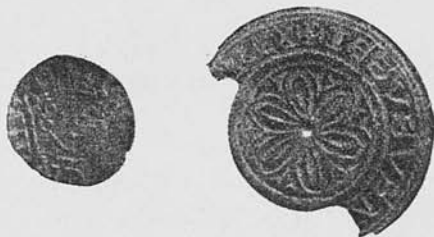
Had the practice of identification so feebly initiated by Henry II been started by William II and continued, where applicable, by his successors it is instructive to note that numismatics would have been simplified in some of its most interesting and contentious fields of research.

TWO TRAGEDIES, A MEDIÆVAL CHARM, AND A NOTE ON THE MINT OF RHUDDLAN.

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

THERE is always a pathetic interest attached to coins and other personal possessions found with the bones of their owner, and it is a coincidence that the relics of two such tragedies should have been submitted to me; for each case concerned a man who carried money of Henry III, wore a talisman hung round his neck, and came to a sudden death; yet so far apart were they discovered that the one was at Winchester and the other at Dyserth Castle in Flintshire.

THE WINCHESTER TRAGEDY.



PENNY OF HENRY III AND TALISMAN FOUND WITH HUMAN BONES
AT WINCHESTER.

Mr. G. E. Slim, of The Briars, Fordington Road, Winchester, forwarded the silver penny of Henry III and bronze medallion illustrated above to me with the following report:—

In March, 1918, whilst removing soil for the foundation of a wall at the foot of my garden, my attention was attracted by a layer of small but uniform flints, and just under this I found the

bronze medallion. Below the flints and medallion I discovered fragments of rib bones, and beneath these the vertebræ of a human skeleton. I followed the line of the vertebræ towards where the head should be, but the skull with the vertebræ of the neck was missing. In the opposite direction, where the legs would lie, I am unable to excavate.

The vertebræ indicated the remains of a large boned person lying on the back with feet towards the south. The flint floor only covered the chest and abdomen, and the only other relics actually with the remains were two small fragments of unglazed earthenware, but the silver coin was found only a little distance away, and the ground had been much cultivated for many years.

The last remark implies that in Mr. Slim's opinion the coin had been separated from the remains in the ordinary course of ground-disturbance incident to gardens, and he has since confirmed this inference. The identity in date of the two relics should, however, set at rest any doubt as to their common origin.

The coin is a silver penny of the last type of Henry III—the long-cross type with sceptre—

Obverse: **HENRICVS REX**

Reverse: **ROBERT ON ANT** Canterbury.

This is the minor variety classed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.,¹ as Vc and attributed approximately to the year 1257. The coin is clipped and shows signs of wear, which are indications that it was in circulation for some years.

The talisman is a disc of thin bronze, unifacial, of the size of a halfcrown, well patinated and pierced with a tiny rivet-hole in the centre for attachment to a mounting at the back, the marks of which are visible. From Mr. Slim's description of the discovery, it was evidently slung by a cord round the neck and worn on the breast. Being very thin and deeply struck from a die, one-third of the legend

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, ix, pp. 145-179; x, pp. 69-93.

has been broken off where, perhaps, it was almost cut through by the pressure of the die, and is gone, leaving a space for eight letters.

***IESVSSEN REX** between double concentric inner and outer circles of cable pattern, surrounding the central device of a geometric rose of six petals.

Although somewhat cryptic at first glance, if we eliminate the duplication of the *us* of *Jesus* it is not difficult to complete the legend with certainty, for I hope to prove by comparisons of the period that when so corrected it is

***IESVS NAZARENVS REX**

and this exactly supplies the eight missing letters. The central design is familiar to us as the rose windows in our churches and that, for example, in St. Wulfran's, Grantham, compares with it very closely in both date and detail.

In the year 1270, Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I, fresh from suppressing the protracted Wars of the Barons, joined the seventh and last Crusade which, under his command, succeeded in recovering Nazareth. Peace followed, and his father, Henry III, having died meanwhile, the Prince returned to England as King in 1274.

The recapture of Nazareth was intensely popular throughout Christendom, and especially so in England, where it was reflected in many ways, not the least interesting of which was the general revival of the title "Jesus of Nazareth," and its invocation against danger, evil, and sickness. Thus we find it as *Iesus Nazarenus* on rings, brooches, and purses of this period; as *Iesus Nazarius* on the bronze chape of a scabbard in the Guildhall Museum; as *Ihs Nazaren* on the helm of the effigy of Sir Thomas Wendesley who fell in the battle of Shrewsbury; and in full as *Ihesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum* on a fifteenth-century breastplate in the Wallace Collection.

In each of these instances there is, I think, evidence of pure religious sentiment; but it was not always so, for at no time were religion, necromancy and the black art so curiously interwoven as

under the eastern influences of the last Crusades. Of this heterodox order is the following very human document; a mediæval charm which, whilst it invokes the legend we are considering, and after a manner of its own is ostensibly an appeal to the Powers of Light, does not quite neglect the precaution of propitiating the powers of darkness also, in which it follows the advice of the old Yorkshire proverb that "it is better to be in with the Adonnet¹ than out." My apology for printing it in full is that it is worth preserving for general reference on many varied subjects. It discloses a condition of society which had its influence even in the selection of the legends upon the coinage. For instance, that on the early gold issues, *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*, had long been in use on rings and brooches—as was later the coin itself—as a traveller's charm against robbers; just as the motto on the groat was the soldier's prayer. I knew it years ago in a private collection, and it is written in red and black ink on a strip of parchment, two and a half inches wide and three feet long; but I reproduce the text from an interesting paper by F. A. Luddington in *The Antiquary* of September, 1903. The notes, however, are mine.

Although written in the late fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, and the survival, copied, recopied and amended to date, of a far more ancient script, it is not difficult to follow, if one reads by the sound rather than by the spelling, for that in both languages is very corrupt. The preamble is written in red ink, but the general form is that of an early Anglo-Saxon deed, for the "hundred names of power" follow with the sign of the Cross to each as if they were the witnesses:—

Here begynnyth the copy of the wryth that the Angel brought from Heuene on-to Saint Leo, the Pope of Rome, he to deliuer it to kynge Charlys,² that tyme he went to the bataly

¹ Literally, the arch-one. The name, probably in its orthodox sense, is ninth in the charm as Adonay, the Jewish Adonai, and occurs also in such words as Adonizedec, *Joshua* x, 1. Compare Virgil's *Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo*.

² Charlemagne entered into alliance with Pope Leo III, who crowned him Emperor in A.D. 800.

ayens goddys enmiis. Ande he seyde tha it wolde saue hym that beryth thys lettere vp-on hym from alle his enmiis, bothe bodili and gostly & from fiir & water, & from thunder & leuenyng, & from alle wykkyd spiritys, & from false fyndys, & from drechyng & dremynge in a bodiis slepyng & from alle maner of perelles bothe on londe & and on water. Ande also he xalle not deye with-owtyn schryft & hoysl, nor he xalle nuer haue the syknes of the feuer nor of the meselry¹ nor of the fallyng euyle. Nor he xalle neuere be falsly dampnyde before no Iuge. Ande thow he were put in fiir to be brend or on a galow-tre to be hangyd, he xalle not deye that day if he haue thys lettere vp-on hym; nor he xalle neur haue wrath of lorde nor of ladye withoutyn gylt gret, nor he xalle neur mysfare in no nede. And also if a woman trauayl of chylde, do thys lettere on hyr & sche xalle be delyuerid, & and the chylde xalle haue ryth schape name ande Cristendam, & the mothyr gudde Puryficaciun throw the vertu of these holy & blysful namys of owre lorde Ihesu Crist that folwyn.

✱ Ihesu ✱ christe ✱ Ihesus ✱ christus ✱ mesias ✱ sother
 ✱ Emanuel ✱ sabaoth ✱ Adonay ✱ vnitas ✱ veritas ✱ omni-
 potens ✱ homo ✱ vsyou ✱ saluator ✱ caritas ✱ tria ✱ creator
 ✱ Redemptor ✱ sine fine ✱ vnigenitus ✱ fons ✱ spes ✱ salus
 ✱ Sacerdos ✱ ymas ✱ Otheos ✱ origo ✱ manus ✱ splendor
 ✱ lux ✱ gratia ✱ flos mundus ✱ ymago ✱ paraclitus ✱ columba
 ✱ athenatos ✱ corona ✱ propheta ✱ Humilitas ✱ fortissimus
 ✱ paciencia ✱ kyros ✱ yskyros ✱ mediator ✱ A.G.I. ✱ Tetra-
 gramaton² ✱ caput ✱ alpha ✱ et oo ✱ primogenitus ✱ et nouissi-
 mus ✱ panton ✱ craton ✱ ysus ✱ esus ✱ ego ✱ sum ✱ qui sum
 ✱ agnus ✱ ouis ✱ vitulus ✱ aries ✱ serpens ✱ leo ✱ vermis
 ✱ vnus pater ✱ vnus filius ✱ vnus spiritus sanctus ✱ ely ✱ eloy
 ✱ lama zabatamy ✱ via ✱ virtus ✱ veritas ✱ vita ✱ ortus
 ✱ inicium ✱ misericors ✱ humilitas ✱ trinitas ✱ potestas ✱ maies-

¹ Leprosy, unknown in Charlemagne's time.

² That the name of God can be spelt by four letters in every language was evidently known even then.

tas ✱ deitas ✱ deus ✱ dominus ✱ Agyos ✱ princeps ✱ dux ✱ elyas
 ✱ symeon ✱ eleyson ✱ anamzapta¹ ✱ Iasper ✱ fert ✱ mirram
 ✱ Thus ✱ melchior ✱ balthazar ✱ auru ✱ Hec tria que secum
 portauerit nomina regum Saluetur amor bo domni pietate
 caduco ✱ *Iesus nazarenus crucifixus rex iudeorum fili dei miserere
 mei amen* ✱ Iesu fili dauid miserere mei amen ✱ Sana & salua
 me custodi me domine deus meus quia in te confido ✱ Christus
 quia opus manuum tuarum sum ego ✱ Michael ✱ Gabriel
 ✱ Raphael ✱ Sariel ✱ Zepiel ✱ thobiel ✱ raguel ✱ brachiel ✱ deus
 Abraham ✱ deus ysaac ✱ deus Iacob.

Endorsed.

. . . sanctus Iohannes me defendant Ab omni malo
 & periculo ab tribulacione & ab omnibus hostibus visibilis &
 in-invisibilibus hic & in futuro seculorum. Amen. Anna peperit
 mariam . Elyzabeth peperit iohannem . Sint medicina mei .
 vulnera quinque dei . Sint medicina mei . pia crux & passio
 christi . In manus tuas domine comendo spiritum meum
 redemisti me domini deus veritis. Amen. Agnus dei quo tollis
 peccata mundi miserere nobis . In nomine patris & filii & spiritus
 sancti. Amen.

Inicium sancti euangeli S. Ioh. In principio, etc. [verses
 I-I4.]

To return to the interment. The circumstances tell their own
 tale, for the skeleton was headless, it was buried in unconsecrated
 ground on the hill outside and overlooking the West Gate, the
 principal gate of Winchester ; it lay on its back due north and south,
 shards had been cast upon it ; and over it, hand-laid with care, was
 a floor of selected flints. In the strict thirteenth century such a
 burial could mean but one thing—that of an executed felon. In the
 presence of the shards and flints we have a reminder that “ shards,
 flints and pebbles should be thrown on her,” at Ophelia’s burial,
 but the still older form of the same idea, the “ flint floor ” over the
 felon’s breast, was a folk-lore superstition that it materially kept

¹ For Ananizapta, the charm against the falling sickness, of Egyptian origin.

down the evil spirit of the deceased. In it we trace the origin of stake and burial beneath the cross-roads ; of the provision in the *Leges Ripuariorum* for the interment of criminals under the high road ; of the " heap of stones " piled upon the graves of Achan, the King of Ai, and Absalom ; and of the great stone that closed the chambered barrow in archaic times. Truly here the flints were a strange corollary to belief in the talisman below them.

The legend on the talisman suggests a date for the interment later, probably, than Edward's return from the Crusade in 1274, and the condition of the coin seems to justify this inference. When, therefore, we notice that the penny is clipped all round and light in weight, we wonder whether the " large boned person " may possibly have been one of those malefactors who were " hanged without the walls of the city and their heads set up upon the gate " at the house-to house search of the Jews, some Christians, goldsmiths and moneyers, for evidence of clipping, clipping tools and debasing the money, on the morrow of St. Nicholas, 1278.

It is pleasant to add that Mr. Slim at once accepted my suggestion that he should present the relics to the Museum at Winchester.

THE DYSEARTH CASTLE TRAGEDY.

We know a great deal of the monetary side of mediæval life. The Exchequer rolls are no trouble to us, and we wax eloquent over *monetarium*, royal treasuries, and coining irons. We quote to an obol the price of labour, cattle, and corn, at any given time ; and the contents of a hoard of money discovered may almost be taken as read ; indeed, we have known some so flippant as to attribute the absence of the types they expected to the fault of the hoard, by being buried at twice, or collected at intervals in penny numbers. But what do we know of the contents of the purse in the pocket of the man in the street ? Little enough, yet any such information would help to settle questions of sequence and tender, and in all probability it would account for the apparent contradiction between the evidence of the chroniclers who constantly complain of the quantity of base money in circulation, and that of our hoards

which rarely contain anything of the kind. Even the little story before us would have told us that the sceptred type was the later of the two in the long-cross series, and that the man who hoarded money must have selected it for its purity, for of the four coins the subject of this paper not one is fit for that purpose. True, we know that a man who was hunting in 1126 was expected to have at least a halfpenny upon him, for a mendicant begged an obol of him, and in point of fact he had twopence halfpenny altogether; and that a woman in the crowd at the funeral of Bishop Hugh in Lincoln Cathedral in 1200, had her pocket picked of her purse in quite modern fashion. But now when fate allows us to glance at the money in the pocket of an English soldier who fell in North Wales in the year 1263, we do not find it at all according to rule. But I am anticipating.

In 1914, I was present with Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., at the excavations conducted by Colonel T. A. Glenn at Dyserth Castle, near Rhuddlan, Flintshire, and later I was asked to report upon the coins there found in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January, 1915.

Dyserth Castle was built by Henry III upon an ancient but, as its name tells us, deserted fortified site in 1241, and after a siege it was stormed by the Welsh in 1263; which completes its history. Colonel Glenn's excavations disclosed that the besiegers "drove a mine bringing down a portion of the wall" of the Castle, which fell inwards and buried beneath it at least three of the English garrison. One of these had fallen face downwards and beneath his remains, no doubt originally suspended over his breast, was a small medal, or talisman of lead, uniface, pierced for suspension, and bearing the design of a simple cross.



TALISMAN OF LEAD FOUND WITH HUMAN REMAINS AT DYSERTH CASTLE, FLINTSHIRE.

Beside the skeleton were the contents of his pocket—three English silver pennies :—

1. A penny of Canterbury of the short-cross series, and of the issue which, thirty-four years ago,¹ I attributed to a general recoinage by King John in 1205, recorded by the continuator of Florence of Worcester, and distinguishable by its long narrow face with two curls on each side—Class V of the arrangement by Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.²

Obverse: **HENRICVS REX**

Reverse: **✠ SAMVEL ON DAN**

2. A penny of London of the same series, but of the round-faced class of Henry III, which I thought would be issued about the year 1240.³ Class VII according to Mr. Lawrence.⁴

Obverse: **HENRICVS REX**

Reverse: **✠ ILGER ON LVNDE**

3. A penny of London of the first type of the long-cross series of Henry III, distinguishable by the absence of the sceptre, which Mr. Lawrence schedules as Class IIIB. He dates the class about 1250, and identifies the name Henry on these coins with Henry Frowik, moneyer of London who received his dies in 1248.⁵

Obverse: ***HENRICVS REX-III'**

Reverse: **HEN RI ON LV ND**

It will be noticed that of these three coins, buried with their owner in 1263, one had been in circulation for nearly sixty, another for more than twenty, and the third for about a dozen years. If the late Mr. Fox and his brother, Mr. Shirley-Fox, had not already

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 64.

³ *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1915, p. 85.

⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 66, and compare his plate II, fig. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 149 and 159.

corrected the old order of supposed sequence by transferring the sceptred type to the last of the long-cross series, this dated burial would have suggested that inference. The two short-cross pennies bear out the complaint of the chroniclers, for they show evidence of clipping, and their metal seems to be far from pure. Treating the evidence generally, we have the fact of three coins lying in contact with the soil, unprotected by any vessel, or even the usual compact mass of numerous specimens. The soil was the same, yet its action upon the three pieces seems to have been quite dissimilar. Evidently it was very deleterious to all, for its effect upon the best of them, the long-cross coin, seems to have rendered it brittle ; but one of the three is pitted all over and through with tiny holes. This I think is evidence that the coin was originally debased with an excess—a considerable excess—of soft alloy, which has disintegrated. Nor could the other two have been of pure metal.

A Note on the Mint of Rhuddlan.

It seems to me that this little story of Dyserth Castle is a factor in the mystery of the coins of Rhuddlan. In volume II, pages 43 to 46 of this *Journal*, Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., attributed the whole series of the short-cross coinage that bears the mint-name of Rhuddlan to the period between A.D. 1189 and 1214, in the reigns of Richard I and John ; and to me the details of the designs always seemed convincing of that conclusion. But in volume XI, pages 87 and 90, Mr. Lawrence includes these coins in his Classes VII and VIII, and assigns them to the period A.D. 1240 to 1247, in the middle of the reign of Henry III. As to Class VIII itself I have grave doubts, and would replace its varied coins where the late Sir John Evans left them.

The Castle of Rhuddlan, in which was the English mint for North Wales—a branch of that of Chester—belonged at the time of Domesday to the Earl of Chester and his cousin, Robert de Rhuddlan. In 1164, as the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* tells us, Henry II spent three nights here, and declared his intention of building a castle, meaning, I assume, the usual stone keep in addition to or upon the Norman

mount, which is still to be seen. This seems to have aroused the Welsh who, after a siege of three months under Owain and Cadwalader, broke in and burnt the castle in 1166. But from the Pipe Rolls of 1167 we find that the Earl of Chester was again in possession and strengthening it; and so it remained until the dawn of the next century.

In 1211, the castles of Deganwy and Rhuddlan alone stood out in North Wales against the Welsh until King John "with a vast army" came in person to their relief; but in 1213, "Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, reduced¹ the castle of Deganwy and the castle of Rhuddlan."

No doubt the Barons' Wars in England diverted attention from Rhuddlan for a time, and it would seem that the castle remained in the possession of the Welsh until the year 1277, when Edward I invaded North Wales, made Rhuddlan his headquarters, received the submission of Llywelyn, son of Owain, there, and commenced the building of the great castle, which still remains, a work which occupied several years. Deganwy was recovered and refortified, A.D. 1241-45.

Meanwhile, therefore, from A.D. 1213 to 1277, we must assume that Rhuddlan Castle was in Welsh possession, and unless we are prepared to admit that the coins, which bear the title **HENRICVS REX**, were Welsh, and issued by David, the son of Llywelyn son of Iorweth, Mr. Lawrence's date, 1240 to 1247, for them must fail.

I had thought² it possible that David surrendered Rhuddlan when he paid his homage to Henry III at Gloucester, as claimant to the succession of North Wales on the death of his father, Llywelyn, in 1240, but I find that it is not mentioned in the charter of treaty between them, and now the story of Dyserth alone will show that Rhuddlan Castle must have remained Welsh throughout the whole of the period, after 1213, during which the short-cross coinage ran.

Rhuddlan was formerly a seaport, and so long as it was open to access to the sea it was a formidable stronghold, for its relief from Chester was assured; but as an inland fortress it was far from impregnable for an English garrison, and no attempt seems to have

¹ *darestygawd* is the word used.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 88.

been made to recover it from the Welsh. But, instead, when Henry III, in 1241, at the very beginning of Mr. Lawrence's suggested date for the coins, retired from Wales after his very questionable successes, he built the "strong castle" of Dyserth and garrisoned it upon the rock two and a half miles only away and five hundred feet high, which commands Rhuddlan, and so hoped to keep the Welsh in check. If, therefore, Rhuddlan had been still the English outpost, there could have been no strategic use for Dyserth. On the other hand, if Rhuddlan Castle was then a stronghold of the Welsh, or even a ruin in their possession, Dyserth Castle on its English side was just that *malvoisin* of the Normans, or the watch-dog so dear to English strategy ever since Edward the Elder had devised the method of checking the Danes by building a burgh of his own over against theirs. Certainly Dyserth, so long as it lasted, played the part of its predecessor Rhuddlan, for whilst Rhuddlan is never mentioned, we read that in 1256 and 1257, Llywelyn, son of Gruffudd, carried everything before him save the two sorely beleaguered castles of Deganwy and Dyserth, and only by a temporary truce was the latter allowed to be reprovisioned. Early in 1263, Dyserth was again in dire distress, and had to be relieved, and in August of that year it was captured by Llywelyn, as I have already explained, and our own chronicler, Mathew of Westminster, adds that he levelled it with the ground.

It may be a little thing to judge a soldier's pay, even in the year 1263, by three coins in his pocket, but if the mint of Rhuddlan was then, or had been, in operation so recently as from 1240 to 1247, one would not expect to find them represented by a penny from Canterbury of about 1205, and two from London of about 1240 and 1250 respectively. On the other hand, if the Rhuddlan mint had ceased for ever in 1213, no money from it could be expected at Dyserth in 1263, and it seems to me that the latest coins of the short-cross series preserved to us of the Rhuddlan mint exactly tally with the type in issue when King John with his "vast army" made the Castle his headquarters in 1211.

HALFPENNIES AND FARTHING OF HENRY VIII.

BY RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON.

IN a short paper entitled "Halfpence and Farthings of Henry VIII," printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., publishes a rather startling theory which he has propounded in regard to the halfpennies and farthings struck during the period A.D. 1464, or 65, to 1523; and more particularly with reference to those struck by Henry VIII. I think the best method of summarising Mr. Lawrence's arguments for those who may not have read his paper or who wish to refresh their memories, is by means of the following extracts from it. These I think contain all the pertinent points necessary for the purpose of showing, as I hope to be able to show, that the probability is that Mr. Lawrence has misinterpreted the meaning of the statute, upon which he largely bases his contention. The first paragraph of Mr. Lawrence's paper is as follows:—

Mr. G. C. Brooke has just been good enough to call my attention to a little bit of information which he found in *Ruding* under the year 1523,¹ and which refers to enactments of Parliament held in that year. We there read, "And whereas the farthings and halfpennies were struck with one coin so that the common people many times took the farthings for halfpennies, it was ordained that the farthings to be made from that time should have on one side a portcullis and on the other a rose with a cross."

A little later he continues:—

The most important fact in the quotation is that the people were frequently unable to distinguish their farthings from

¹ Vol. i, p. 302.

halfpence in this, the first coinage of Henry VIII, as they were made from the same dies.

Now looking to the fact that we do not know of any farthings at all after the cessation of the heavy coinage of Edward IV in 1464 or 5, until these portcullis rose farthings of Henry VIII, have we not here an explanation of their seeming absence? Surely these, like the corresponding coins of Henry VIII, were struck from the same coin.

And again—

Ruding's information now helps us to a better decision, in that we may say, with some degree of certainty, that those coins which are in good condition and weigh about 6 grains or more are halfpence, and that the coins also in good condition and weighing approximately half the weight are farthings.

To put it briefly, Mr. Lawrence contends that the words of the statute, "struck with one coin" mean that the halfpennies and farthings were struck from the same dies, the halfpennies and farthings being only distinguishable by their weight. Mr. Lawrence then gives the results he obtained by weighing "halfpennies" in his search for "farthings," so that presumably he is of the opinion that the diameter of the flans of the halfpennies and farthings of the coinages from 1464, or 65, until 1524, were approximately the same, and that the necessary difference in weight was obtained by employing a thinner flan, or possibly a flan of slightly smaller diameter, though not of the marked difference in diameter of, say, the farthings and halfpennies of Richard II.

If we are to accept Mr. Lawrence's theory, then, from 1464 to 1524, a period of sixty years, the farthings were of approximately the same diameter, design, and appearance as the halfpennies, and distinguished from the latter only by weight. It surely follows that the effect of the statute, as interpreted by Mr. Lawrence, upon the portcullis-rose farthings issued under its authority, would be merely that of change of type and not a change in the size of the coin, since there is no order in the Act for any alteration in diameter.



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And the logical conclusion, if we accept Mr. Lawrence's contention as to the distinction of halfpennies and farthings during this period, and the meaning of the statute of 1523, would be that the portcullis rose farthings were of the halfpenny size or diameter.

From the few surviving specimens of these portcullis rose farthings, which are admittedly the fruit of the enactment under discussion, we know that this is not the case, and that they are of the generally accepted diameter of the known and definitely attributed farthings issued previously to 1464 or 65. It is hardly conceivable that a statute giving such minute instructions as to the type of a proposed new farthing should omit so important a point as a change, or proposed change, in its size.

I think, therefore, that it is clear that the real meaning of the words in the statute "struck with one coin" is that the halfpennies and farthings had been of the same obverse and reverse types, or perhaps a better word than type would be pattern; that is, the crowned bust on the obverse surrounded by the legend, and the cross and pellets on the reverse and name of place of mintage. This indeed is, I think, the meaning that the passage most naturally conveys to one upon reading it.

The fact "that the common people many times took the farthings for halfpennies" is easily accounted for by this similarity of type and the size of the coins themselves; for no doubt the majority of the halfpennies in general circulation were clipped and worn, which would make the original difference in size almost negligible.

I would also venture to suggest that a very much more reliable test than that arrived at by weighing the coin in the case of a doubtful farthing, for the weight of the smaller denominations is admittedly very variable, would be by comparing the measured diameter of the inner circle surrounding the bust of the coin with that of an undoubted halfpenny of the same issue.

The accompanying plate of halfpennies and farthings, a description of which is appended to this note, shows I think quite clearly that there is an appreciable difference in the diameters of the inner circles of these two denominations throughout the series. I should

like to draw particular notice to the illustration of Colonel Morrieson's farthing of Henry VII, Fig. 17, and to that of the Restoration farthing of Henry VI, Fig. 11, formerly in the collection of Mr. F. A. Walters and now in the National Cabinet. Both these coins, should further proof be deemed necessary, seem to dispose of Mr. Lawrence's contention that they were not struck during the period A.D. 1464, or 65, to 1523 of the proportionate farthing size.

In conclusion, I should like to give the actual wording of the paragraph of the Act of 1523 more particularly referred to above, being that in the Statutes of the Realm, printed in 1817 by order of King George III, which is as follows :—

“ And forasmuch as at this present tyme farthynges and half pens be stryckyn all with oon coyne, so that the cōmen People of the Realme many tymes take those that be ferthyns for halfpens ; Be it therefor enacted by thauctorite aforesaid that all such ferthynges that from hensforth shalbe made withyn this Realme shall have uppon the oon side thereof the prent of the Port colys and uppon the other side thereof the prynt of the Rose with a crosse ; upon lyke payn.”

My grateful thanks are due to the Keeper of the Coins and Medals in the British Museum ; to our President Mr. F. A. Walters, and to Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson for the loan of coins and casts for illustration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

1. Richard II halfpenny. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
2. Richard II farthing. R. Carlyon-Britton.
3. Henry IV heavy halfpenny. F. A. Walters.
4. Henry IV farthing.¹ National Collection.
5. Henry IV light halfpenny. F. A. Walters.
6. Henry IV farthing.¹ National Collection.
7. Henry V halfpenny. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
8. Henry VI halfpenny of Calais; obverse, the annulet coinage; reverse, the rosette-mascle coinage. R. Carlyon-Britton.
9. Henry VI farthing of Calais, annulet coinage. L. Bruun.
10. Henry VI Restoration halfpenny. National Collection.
11. Henry VI Restoration farthing. National Collection.
12. Edward IV halfpenny; mint-mark, annulet enclosing pellet. R. Carlyon-Britton.
13. Edward V halfpenny; mint-mark, sun and rose dimidiated. R. Carlyon-Britton.
14. Richard III halfpenny; mint-mark, sun and rose dimidiated. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
15. Henry VII halfpenny; open crown; mint-mark, lys on rose. R. Carlyon-Britton.
16. Henry VII halfpenny; arched crown. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
17. Henry VII farthing; arched crown. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
18. Henry VIII halfpenny; first issue, mint-mark, portcullis crowned. Col. H. W. Morrieson.
19. Henry VIII halfpenny; second issue, mint-mark, sunburst. R. Carlyon-Britton.
20. Henry VIII halfpenny; later issue, annulet enclosing pellet in centre of reverse. R. Carlyon-Britton.
21. Henry VIII portcullis farthing; mint-mark, portcullis. National Collection.
22. Henry VIII portcullis farthing; mint-mark, arrow. National Collection.
23. Edward VI halfpenny; mint-mark, escallop. National Collection.
24. Edward VI portcullis farthing. National Collection.


¹ The farthing, No. 6, at present attributed to the heavy coinage because of its weight, 4·5 grains, should, if judged by its style, be given to the light coinage; whereas the light farthing, No. 4, which is earlier in style although it weighs only 3·75 grains, has features indicating that its reattribution to the heavy coinage has serious claims.

SILVER COINS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIXPENCES.

N continuation of the series of papers on the coins emanating from the Tower Mint in Charles I's reign I have now arrived at, perhaps, the most difficult denomination of all, the sixpences.

The difficulties which confront a student of this period from the many variations inserted on the dies by the various artists employed, the many changing types, and the mules which exist are, of course, intensified by the practice of frequently using the die of an old issue for a succeeding coinage by the simple process of obliterating the old mint-mark by overstriking it with the new. This would not in itself lead one astray, but when the old die so altered is used for one side or the other only, and quite a new die, differing in salient features from its predecessor, is used for the opposite side of the same coin, one is apt to be led into many pitfalls.

In the denomination I am now endeavouring to deal with, these traps are increased in number and intensified in difficulty, by the fact that for some reason or other the sixpence is perhaps the scarcest of Charles I's issues. Its relation to the shilling and the frequency with which it occurs in the two preceding reigns, would naturally lead one to suppose that during a period so disturbed, and when the available treasures of the country were so reduced, the smaller denominations would be more frequent than the larger.

This, however, is not the case, for almost all through the reign, including the emanations from the country mints, the half-crown would appear to be most frequently met with, then the shilling, and the sixpence comes a very bad third amongst those denominations which provided the regular silver currency of the country.

Of course, the sixpence could be more easily lost, and the thinness of the metal would render it more susceptible to the sweating processes of the day than the larger coins; also it would doubtless form a very convenient piece for the poorer classes of the populace, and as such perhaps suffer more wear than the larger denominations. It may, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that very large quantities would be melted down in the subsequent re-coinages, and that these were the contributing causes to the present shortage of the coin. This idea, however, is weakened by the fact that the same arguments would apply to the sixpences of both Elizabeth and James I, whereas we find that that denomination is much commoner than any other in the former reign, and is quite as frequently seen as the shilling in the latter.

Then again, in Charles I's coins, if we except the first few issues, the sixpence would appear to have had much less careful treatment in striking than the shillings or the half-crowns, and even tolerable specimens are very difficult to meet with. Hence my task in describing the minor varieties of a coin, the size of which has already reduced the evidence of those varieties to microscopic dimensions, is very considerably increased in difficulty, and I am sensible of the fact that this paper cannot possibly include even the majority of the varieties which exist, and that it becomes still more necessary for me to apologise for its shortcomings and omissions than it was in the case of its immediate predecessors.

I am adopting the method of description which I followed in the papers on the half-crowns and shillings, and again numbering the die varieties I have found, separately from No. 1, under each type and mint-mark.

Generally speaking, the types were identical with, or closely followed, those of the shilling, and it would appear almost unnecessary



1, Type I, die 1, lys.



2, I, 2, cross Calvary.



3, Ia, 6,
cross Calvary.



4, Ia, 1, negro's head.



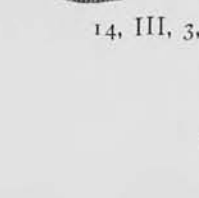
6, Ia, 2, anchor.



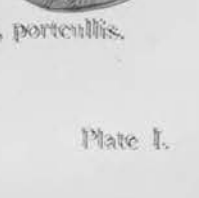
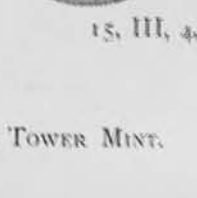
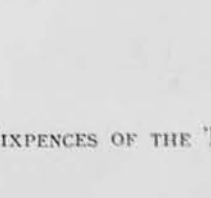
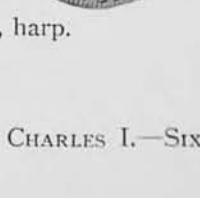
9, II, 2, plume



11, IIb, 2, plume.



14, III, 3, harp.



13, II, 1,
rose.
MULE

12, IIb, 3, rose.

15, III, 4, portcullis.

again to describe them, and to insert the description of the types, the varieties of the harps, and the different readings of the obverse legend in this chapter of my series, but for the fact that in each denomination the minor varieties are frequently again differenced.

To describe the various types in the order of their issue, I have again adopted Hawkins's enumerations, and only departed from them by the addition of letter subdivisions, when such are called for by variations not so separated by that author.

Type 1 is identical in every way with the shilling of the same issue; the King appears in ruff, collar, and mantle, surrounded by his titles on the obverse; and on the reverse the square shield of arms is shown superimposed upon the cross fourchée, as it was on the shillings, but unlike those coins it bears the date of issue above the shield, and so provides the few additional varieties that were not found in the larger denomination.

I have found abbreviations marked by single pellets or full stops and by colons, but some coins with the lys mint-mark are without any stops at all, whilst the "inverted semicolons," which were so common a method of abbreviation in the early shillings, do not appear to exist on the first sixpences, nor to make their appearance prior to that with the mint-mark negro's head; neither have I found any errors of spelling, but the uneven division of the words of the reverse legend by the arms of the cross, noted on the larger coins, is repeated on the smaller.

The mint-marks are the lys, 1625, and the cross Calvary, 1626, the latter in most cases struck over the lys with the date 1625.

Type 1a is almost identical also with the shilling, and shows a narrower and better proportioned bust in wider ruff and armour. The reverse used in Type 1 is continued. Most of the coins in this type were issued in portions of two consecutive years, and many of the second date were struck over the earlier date of the same issue. Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton has one of the cross Calvary mint-mark with a curious error so corrected, for the die, apparently, had been originally dated 1266, but altered to 1626. Another error

produced a mule of the mint-marks cross Calvary—negro's head, an obverse die of the former mint-mark having been used, unaltered by overstriking, with the new negro's-head reverse. This coin is in Colonel Morrieson's possession.

Sixpences with the plume over the reverse shield are unknown in the dated series, hence Types 1*b* and 1*c*, to correspond with the shillings, do not appear.

In 1630, however, the last year during which a date appeared on a Tower sixpence, the reverse die was altered and the cross fourchée removed from the later coins with the mint-mark heart, and from all those bearing the square shield with mint-mark plume—all of which I think were merely the later heart die overstruck. As this alteration appears to be concurrent with the introduction of my Type 2 in the half-crowns, namely the rare specimen with mint-mark heart and a square shield on the reverse, and there is no corresponding issue in the shillings, I am making this variety a separate type.

The mint-marks in Type 1*a* are the cross Calvary, 1625–1626; the negro's head, 1626–1627; the castle, 1627–1628; the anchor, 1628–1629; and the heart, 1629.

Type 2.—The obverse is similar to Type 1*a*, and the reverse is also somewhat similar, but omits the arms of the cross under the square shield. Mint-marks are the heart, 1630, and the plume, 1630.

Type 2*a*.—The obverse remains very similar, though on some coins the bust is slightly larger. The reverse is now identical with that of the shillings of the same type. It has an oval shield, garnished, with the King's initials, CR, above it; there are no extended arms of the cross to interfere with the legend, and no date; but unlike the shillings there would appear to be few or no errors of spelling in this and the subsequent types.

In this type a new obverse reading appears that has not occurred in any larger coin—MAG ! BRIT ! FR ! ET · HI ! Had I noticed it earlier it should have appeared in my list of variations in its proper numerical sequence, but it must now come in as "No. 20." Colonel Morrieson has a specimen reading BRRIT for BRIT. The mint-marks are the plume and the rose.

Type 2*b*.—With the disappearance of the date the practice of surmounting the reverse shield with a large plume to indicate the origin of the silver from which the coins were struck is now introduced, but it did not survive this type. The obverse is similar to 2*a*, and the reverse follows exactly the type of the shillings. This type produces two curious mules, the first, in the possession of Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, shows that an obverse die with the mint-mark plume, which should have been overstruck with the following mint-mark rose, was used unaltered with the new reverse die of the later mark; and therefore is exactly of the same nature as Colonel Morrieson's mule with cross Calvary—negro's head, noted under Type 1*a*. The second is a coin in Colonel Morrieson's collection and more difficult to account for; a reverse die of the half-unite with the current mint-mark rose having been used with an obverse die of the sixpences. The coin so produced has been circulated, and is probably a genuine mint error and not a pattern, hence I describe it here. Trial pieces and patterns I consider outside the scope of these articles, and I do not include them.

The mint-marks in Type 2*b* are the plume and the rose.

Type 3.—The new bust which appeared on the shillings of this type also occurs on the sixpences. It has the hair long, with the love-lock showing over the lace collar. The bust varies a good deal in size from very small to so large as to break the inner circle and infringe the legend space. The reverse has an oval shield, garnished, with the C.R. at the sides, except in one coin with mint-mark portcullis, in Colonel Morrieson's collection, on which these initials are omitted. The mint-marks are the harp and the portcullis. The latter exists, both very large and very small as shown on two coins I exhibited to the Society from my own collection.

Type 3*a* also follows the shilling, though the size of the bust varies more than in that coin. This type has the round shield without CR and generally is without inner circles, though two varieties in my collection have this circle on the obverse, on account of the fact that the obverse is from an old portcullis die overstruck first with the crown, and subsequently with the bell mint-mark.

On one coin, Colonel Morrieson's, with the mint-mark bell, the harp in the armorial shield is peculiar and different from any other that I have seen, in that it has the top right hand scroll reversed. Otherwise it is exactly as my Harp No. 9 in the illustrations which accompanied the Half-Crown and Shilling chapters, and as it apparently provides the only difference in the shape of the harps on the sixpences, and that a very minor variation, I only illustrate it as Plate II, Fig. 1.

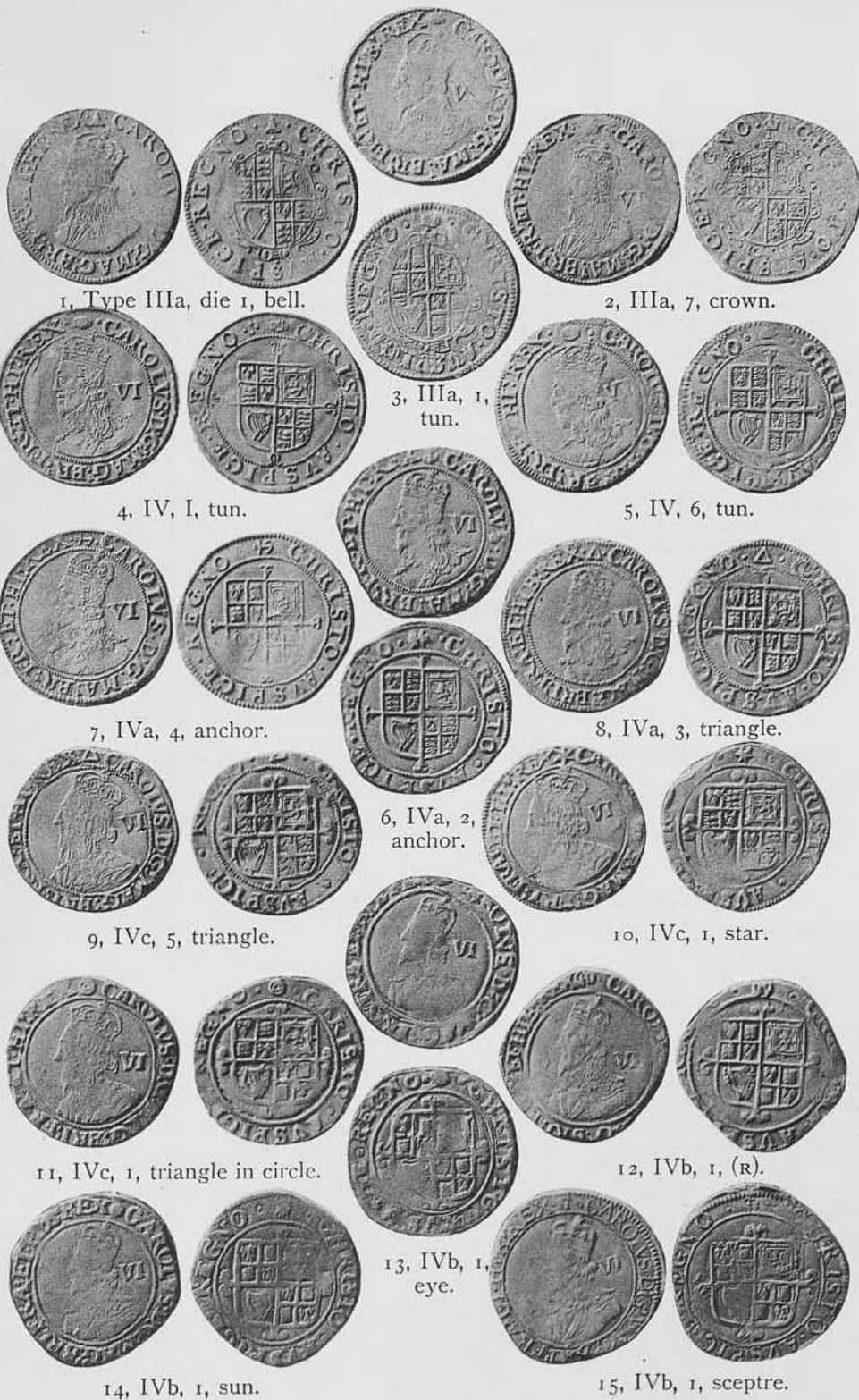
Colonel Morrieson again provides another mule in this type, a coin from the obverse die with mint-mark crown, with reverse from an old reverse "bell" die. Another curiosity, from my own collection, is a coin with an extremely large crown for mint-mark, the emblem appearing to have been taken from a shilling die.

The mint-marks in this type are the bell, the crown, and the tun.

Type 4.—This type presents some very interesting varieties that I shall endeavour to classify more or less on the lines of my treatment of the shillings of the same type, but as there are very few coins showing differences in the size of the numerals of value, the busts alone must guide us in attributing certain of the coins to the same influence that produced some of those minted at Aberystwith. I shall therefore follow the precedent of the shilling, and append a letter to the different subdivisions of the sixpences of the general type classed by Hawkins, and under which he places all the coins from mint-mark tun, 1636, to mint-mark sceptre, 1646, in spite of their many differences.

The first subdivision of Type 4 consists then of the coins with the first head of the Aberystwith issues of the same period.¹ The King has a short beard, brushed up moustache, short pointed lace collar, and a very upright bust. The reverse, which now remains unchanged until the end of the reign, resumes the square topped shield over the cross fourchée, the ends of which are, however, now confined within the inner circle. Colonel Morrieson and Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton each have a variety in which the ends of the cross

¹ See "The Coinage of Aberystwith," by Colonel Morrieson, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, plate II, Figs. 10 and 13.



have lyre-shaped terminals. This obverse occurs only with the mint-mark tun, Plate II, Fig. 4.

Type 4*a*.—This variety is almost identical with the second Aberystwith head, and was probably introduced about the same date. The lace collar becomes much more pointed, and is up-curved, the beard is longer and more pointed, and the head appears rather thrown back and the whole bust not quite so upright as in Type 4. Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton has a specimen on which REGNO is spelt REENO. The mint-marks are the anchor and the triangle.

Type 4*b*.—This again is probably a copy of the Aberystwith bust mentioned by Colonel Morrieson in the same paper on that coinage² as the fifth sixpence of Aberystwith, and the obverse of which was muled with the well-known Oxford reverse. The bust is rather round-shouldered, with a small crown, sharper features, and the hair falling over the lace collar.

This type should chronologically come after Type 4*c*, and not before it, but as its prototype in the shillings occurs much earlier, with mint-mark triangle, I must keep to the same enumeration. The mint-marks represented are the (R), the eye, the sun, and the sceptre.

Type 4*c* shows quite a different head, rather larger, and with a differently shaped crown, three points of lace on the shoulder, but not the protruding point behind, and the hair does not curl over the lace collar. This bust is almost identical with the bust on Briot's sixpence with the mint-marks anchor and B, and so forms an interesting connection with the Briot and Tower shillings of Type 4*c*, mentioned in my last chapter and there illustrated. The mint-marks are the triangle, the star, the triangle-in-circle, the (P), the (R), the eye, and the sun struck over the last named mark.

Type 5, so clearly different in the later shillings, does not exist in the sixpences.

¹ See "Aberystwith," *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, plate II, Figs. 11 and 14.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, plate II, Fig. 17.

THE HARPS USED UPON THE SIXPENCES.

Of the harps used in this denomination there are but two minor differences from the description of those mentioned in the shilling chapter, but I repeat those descriptions and my plate of drawings for the sake of easy reference.

Harp No. 1 was only occasionally used in Types 1 and 1a; it exhibits a small bird's-head, and has a curl in front.

Harp No. 2, which is much more generally in use in the early sixpences, bird-head, and a differently-shaped foot. It is only found in Type 1.





















Harp No. 3 has only been found, so far, on two shillings, both with the mint-mark cross Calvary. It is a peculiar emblem, having a sort of leopard's double head, the tail of the foremost animal entering the mouth of the second, and forming the top bar of the harp, from which the strings depend. It is unknown on any other denomination in the silver issues, but exists on some gold coins.

Harp No. 3a becomes the regular sixpence pattern in Types 1a, 2, 2a, and 2b, and is reintroduced in 4c. It has a lion's head instead of a bird's on the forefront. A variant of this occurs, where the head is clearly that of a griffin instead of a lion. Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton has two clear examples of this variety with mint-marks lys and castle.

Harp No. 4 was that generally used on the shillings of Type 1c, with mint-marks anchor, heart, and plume. It is also common to the corresponding types in the half-crown, but I have not yet found it on a sixpence. It has the rounded front with a flat "head," and scrolled top on the right, with a "foot" somewhat similar to No. 2.

Harp No. 5 was generally used in shillings of Type 2, mint-marks plume and rose, and occasionally in the half-crowns of the same issue, but this, again, does not occur on the sixpences. It has a flat front with a small curl to the right on the left-hand side at the top, and a large elongated curl to the left on the right-hand side.

Harp No. 6, contrary to the last two varieties, is fairly common in sixpences of Types 2a and 2b, and was occasionally used in the half-crown issue, but not known in the shillings. It shows no curl

			
1.	2.	3.	3a
			
4.	5.	6.	6a
			
7.	8.	9.	9a
			
10.	11.	12.	13.
			
14.	15.	16.	17.

FORMS OF THE HARP IN THE FOURTH QUARTER OF THE SHIELD.

on the left top, and the front of the harp is bowed instead of flat. In the sixpences this bowed front is ornamented with a series of little balls. It retains the elongated curl on the right top.

Harp No. 6*a* is the equivalent of No. 6 as used on the shillings, and is similar to No. 6, but has more delicate and tapering front lines. The latter is unknown to coins of the larger denomination or to the sixpences.

Harp No. 7 is very similar to No. 4, but has a different head, and the front more rounded. In the half-crowns it appears first in Type 2*a*, mint-mark rose; in the shillings first in Type 3, mint-mark portcullis, and only on one coin with that mint-mark, but it became a common pattern in the crown and tun periods of Type 3*a*. It has not been found on a sixpence.

Harp No. 8 appears on the shillings of Type 2*b*, with mint-mark plume, and once under the portcullis, but is much more common in the half-crowns, where it occurs on the general type under 2*c* with the mint-mark harp. In the sixpences it appears much later in Type 3, with mint-mark portcullis, and continues intermittently through Types 3*a*, 4, 4*a*, and 4*c*. It has a curved front, with the top curl turned over towards the right, and the scroll top on the right similar to that on No. 4.

Harp No. 9 is the general type used on shillings and sixpences, with mint-mark harp, and on half-crowns with mint-mark portcullis. It has a curled-over front head, and a large curl at the back. In one case this back scroll is formed as in the case of harp No. 8, and this forms one of only two harp variants discovered in the sixpences. In one or two cases it is much coarser and broadened, and this I call Harp No. 9*a*, because it did not appear in the half-crown plate. I have only seen this latter on one or two shillings with the mint-mark harp, and one with the mint-mark bell, but it appears in sixpences of Types 4*a*, 4*b*, and on two of 4*c*.

Harp No. 10 is very similar to No. 9, but has a flat head, and a curious projection in front of the foot; it has appeared in shillings under the portcullis, bell, and crown, and on half-crowns with the last two mint-marks, but is not known on sixpences.

Harp No. 11 is a common pattern in shillings of the late round-shield period, and was again reverted to under mint-marks (P), (R), and star. It is often very difficult to distinguish it from No. 7, which was also used at the same time. The principal difference is the shape of the head. It does not appear on sixpences before Type 4, mint-mark tun with the square shield, and it continued occasionally through Types 4*a* and 4*c*.

Harp No. 12 has rather fine lines with a sort of eagle's head. I have only found it on one shilling, with the mint-mark anchor, and on two half-crowns with mint-mark triangle struck over anchor. It does not appear on a sixpence.

Harp No. 13 I have not found on a shilling and only on one sixpence, though it is fairly common on the half-crowns with mint-marks triangle and star. It has a curl to the right at the left top, and a scroll-ornament on the right top. It is very similar to No. 8.

Harp No. 14 is a debased form of No. 11, and may easily be mistaken for it. It only occurs very occasionally on the sixpences of Type 4*b*.

Harp No. 15 is again a debased type of No. 14, and exists on some half-crowns with mint-mark (R) only, but not on shillings nor sixpences.

Harp No. 16 is apparently a rough copy of No. 1 or No. 3. It occurs under the star, eye, sun, and sceptre mint-marks of Type 5, to which type it is the usual pattern in both shillings and half-crowns, but this harp again is not found on the sixpences.

Harp No. 17 is the shape used on the Briot shillings with the mint-mark anchor. I have only found it on one Tower coin, the shilling with the same mint-mark, to which I called special attention in the chapter on that denomination.

In concluding these general remarks on the types of the sixpences, I must again record my grateful thanks to those numismatic friends who have so readily helped me with information, notes, and examinations of their coins, and particularly to Miss Helen Farquhar, to Colonel Morrieson, and to Mr. Raymond Carlyon-

Britton. All the coins which I have enumerated I have either seen in their collections or possess myself, and I have studiously avoided any "hearsay evidence" of other varieties. Hence there are, I know, many others to be recorded and added to the list, though I should mention that for this paper I have been able to examine the coins in the National Collection, and I illustrate one or two of them, as was the case in my papers on the crowns and half-crowns, but which the war prevented in that on the shillings.

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE TABLES WHICH FOLLOW.

These tables are headed with the type and mint-mark varieties, and the dates of issue of the latter, and are divided into columns which show the various die varieties of each type and mint-mark, and the dates of issue. The types are based on Hawkins's enumeration of them, with such additions and modifications as have been noted in the context and rendered necessary by discoveries since his valuable work was written.

The first column shows the number of the die, starting from No. 1 in each different type and mint-mark, in the order of the longest obverse legend discovered, down to the shortest.

The second column shows the presence or absence of pellets by the mint-mark.

The third column shows the different abbreviations of the King's territorial titles, of which there are 20 wordings, and these are numbered 1 to 20 on the list below. Several of these, however, do not exist on the sixpences.

There are also five different ways of abbreviating those titles, which are used throughout the series, and to identify these the letters "a" to "e" are used in conjunction with the figures which denote the actual lettering; thus a coin which reads MAG : BRI : FRA : ET HI : REX will, if the following table is referred to, be found to be legend 7e, whereas if it had the addition of the pellet after the word ET · it would be classed as legend 7d. Thus :—

No. 1. MAG ! BRIT ! FRAN ! ET · HIB ! REX

Note.—This reading is unknown in shillings or sixpences.

1a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET

1b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET

1c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET

1d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET

1e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET

No. 2. MAG ! BRIT ! FRAN ! ET · HI ! REX	Not known on shillings or sixpences.
No. 3. MAG ! BRIT ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX	No varieties of stops in this reading.
No. 4. MAG ! BRIT ! FRA ! ET · HI REX	No varieties of stops.
No. 5. MAG ! BRIT ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX	Not known on shillings or sixpences.
No. 6. MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX	No varieties of stops.
No. 7. MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET · HI ! REX	7a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET. 7b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET 7d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET 7e. Same, : stops, none after ET 7f. Same, no stops whatever.
No. 8. MAG ! BRI ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX	No varieties of stops.
No. 9. MAG ! BRI ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX	9b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET 9d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET
No. 10. MAG ! BR ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX	Not known on a sixpence.
No. 11. MAG ! BR ! FRA ! ET · HI ! REX	No varieties of stops.
No. 12. MAG ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX	12d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET 12e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET
No. 13. MAG ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX	13a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET 13b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET. 13c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET 13d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET 13e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET 13f. Same, no stops whatever.
No. 14. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX	No varieties of stops in this reading.

No. 15. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX	15a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET
	15c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET
	15d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET
	15e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET
No. 16. M ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX	Not known on a shilling or sixpence.
No. 17. M ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX	No varieties of stops in this reading.
No. 18. MAG ! BR ! FR ! ET · H ! REX	Not known on a sixpence.
No. 19. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · H ! REX	Not known on a sixpence.
No. 20. MAG ! BRIT ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX	No varieties of stops in this reading.

The fourth column gives any special remarks on the obverse design of the coin.

The next three columns refer to the reverse only, the fifth column giving the pellets by the mint-mark, the sixth the variety of the harp as enumerated on the plate illustrating those varieties, and the last column any remarks on the reverse design and legend on the coin.

All the coins enumerated are in the author's collection, except where the ownership is otherwise indicated in the last column.

SIXPENCES OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DIE DIFFERENCES.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
TYPE 1.—King's bust in collar and mantle. Square shield on reverse. Mint-mark <i>lys</i> , issued July 7th, 1625.						
1	None	7f	No stops whatever on obverse. Fig. 1, Pl. 1.	None	2	CHRIS / TO · AVS / PICE · R /EGNO · mint-mark to left. 1625. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L	7b		None	2	CHRIS / TO · AVS / PICE · / REGNO mint-mark in legend after AVS/PICE · 1625. Col. Morrieson.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 1—continued.

3	·L	9b		None	2	Reverse of the last coin. British Museum.
4	·R	9b		·L	2	Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to left. 1625.
5	·L·R	9b		None	2	CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO mint-mark to right. 1625.
6	·L·R	9b		·L·R	2	Col. Morrieson. Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to left. 1625.
7	·L·R	13e		·R	2	British Museum. CHRIS / TOAVS / PICER / EGNO mint-mark to left. 1625.
8	·L	13e		None	2	CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE · / REGNO mint-mark to right. 1625. British Museum.
9	None	13e		None	2	Legend as No. 5, mint-mark to left. 1625.
10	·R	13e		None	1	Legend as No. 5, mint-mark to left. 1625.
11	None	13e		None	2	Col. Morrieson. Legend as No. 5, mint-mark to right. 1625.
12	None	15c		None	2	British Museum. Legend as No. 5, mint-mark to left. 1625.
13	·L	15d		·L	2	J. Young. As last. British Museum.

TYPE 1.—Mint-mark **cross Calvary**, issued June 29th, 1626.

1	None	13c	Obverse overstruck on lys.	None	1	CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO mint-mark to left. 1625. Overstruck on lys.
2	·R	13e	Fig. 2, Pl. 1.	None	2	R. Carlyon-Britton. CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE : REGNO mint-mark to right. 1625.
3	·L	15e	Overstruck on lys.	None	1	Col. Morrieson. Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to right. 1625.

TYPE 1a.—Slightly different bust, in ruff and armour.
Mint-mark **cross Calvary**.

1	None	7e		None	1	CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO mint-mark overstruck on lys. 1625.
2	None	7d		None	1	R. Carlyon-Britton. Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to right. 1626.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
TYPE 1a—continued.						
3	None	7d		None	3a	As last. British Museum.
4	·L	7d		None	3a	Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to right. 1626. Col. Morrieson.
5	None	12e		None	3a	Legend as No. 1, mint-mark to right. 1626. Col. Morrieson.
6	None	13f	No stops whatever. Fig. 3, Pl. 1.	·L·R	3a	CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE · / REGNO mint-mark to right. 1626.
7	None	13c		None	3a	Legend as No. 1. 1626 over 1266. Harp very slightly varied, griffin-headed. R. Carlyon-Britton.
TYPE 1a.—Mule, mint-mark cross Calvary—negro's head.						
1	None	12d	Obverse mint-mark cross Calvary	None	3a	CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE / REGNO Reverse mint-mark negro's head, mint-mark to right. 1626. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark negro's head, issued June 29th, 1626.						
1	·L·R	9	Fig. 4, Pl. 1.	None	3a	CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO mint-mark to right. 1626. British Museum.
2	·L·R	9d		None	3a	As last. 1626. Col. Morrieson.
3	·L·R	9b	No stop after BRI.	None	3a	As last. 1627. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark castle, issued April 27th, 1627.						
1	None	7d	Mint-mark overstruck on negro's head.	None	3a	Mint-mark overstruck on negro's head. 1627 over 1626. Harp is griffin-headed as No. 7 cross Calvary. R. Carlyon-Britton.
2	None	7d	Mint-mark not overstruck.	None	3a	As last. 1627 over 1626. R. Carlyon-Britton.
3	·L·R	13a		None	3a	As last. 1627 over 1626. Mint-mark to right. Col. Morrieson.
4	·L·R	13b		None	3a	Die of last. Col. Morrieson.
5	·L	13b		None	3a	CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE / REGNO New die not overstruck; mint-mark to right. 1627.
6	·L·R	13f	Fig. 5, Pl. 1.	None	3a	As last, but 1628 over 1627. Col. Morrieson.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark **anchor**, issued July 3rd, 1628.

1	·L	13 ^c		None	3a	CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO 1628. R. Carlyon-Britton.
2	None	13 ^e	Fig. 6, Pl. I.	None	3a	1628; mint-mark to right. Legend as last. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	8	Mint-mark overstruck on negro's head.	None	3a	Similar legend. 1629. British Museum.

TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark **heart**, issued June 26th, 1629.

1	None	13	Fig. 7, Pl. I.	·L·R	3a	CHRI / STO · AV / SPICE / REGNO 1629, mint-mark to right. R. Carlyon-Britton and Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	12		·L·R	3a	As last. British Museum.

TYPE 2.—Obverse as Type 1a, reverse similar but omitting arms to cross under square shield.
Mint-mark **heart**.

1	·L·R	15	Fig. 8, Pl. I.	·L·R	3a	No cross under shield, 1630. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 2.—Mint-mark **plume**, issued June 23rd, 1630.

1	·L	7	Mint-mark overstruck on heart.	·L·R	3a	1630. No cross. Mint-mark overstruck on heart. R. Carlyon-Britton.
2	None	15	Fig. 9, Pl. I.	·L·R	3a	As last. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	15 ^d	Mint-mark overstruck.	·R	3a	As last. Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 2a.—Obverse similar but larger bust; reverse has an oval shield, garnished, with C.R. above and the date now finally disappears.

Mint-mark **plume**.

1	·L·R	20		·L·R	6	Pellet each side of and between C R
2	·L·R	20		·L·R	6	· · · in legend. Pellets as last.
3	·L·R	20	Die of last. Fig. 10, Pl. I.	·L·R	3a	· · · in legend. Col. Morrieson.
4	·L·R	20	Die of last.	·L·R	6	No pellets by C R Col. Morrieson.
5	None	8		·L·R	3a	· · · in legend, pellet each side of and between C R
6	·L	8		·L·R	6	Die of No. 2. British Museum.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 2a—continued.

7	None	8	Obverse of last.	·L·R	3a	· in legend. Col. Morrieson.
8	·L·R	13		·L·R	3a	Die of No. 5. Col. Morrieson.
9	·L·R	15		·L·R	6	· and ... in legend.
10	·L·R	15		·L·R	6	Die of No. 1. Col. Morrieson.
11	·L·R	15		·L·R	3a	Die of No. 5. Col. Morrieson.
12	·L·R	15		·L·R	3a	Die of No. 7. British Museum.

TYPE 2a.—Mint-mark **rose**, issued June 30th, 1631.

1	None	7	Mint-mark overstruck on plume.	·L·R	3a	From die of No. 5, plume. Col. Morrieson.
2	None	13		·L·R	6	British Museum.

TYPE 2b.—Obverse of 2a, reverse is similar but has a central plume as well as C R above the shield.

Mint-mark **plume**.

1	·L·R	20		·L·R	6	Mint-mark to left. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	20	Die of No. 1, 2a. Fig. 11, Pl. 1.	·L·R	6	· in legend. Mint-mark to left. British Museum.
3	·L·R	13	Die of No. 7, 2a.	·L	6	Similar to last. R. Carlyon-Britton.

TYPE 2b.—Mule, mint-mark **plume-rose**.

1	None	7	Obverse mint-mark plume.	·L·R	6	· in legend. Reverse mint-mark rose. R. Carlyon-Britton.
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TYPE 2b.—Mint-mark **rose**.

1	·L	7	Mint-mark overstruck on plume.	·L·R	3a	· in legend. Mint-mark overstruck on plume. Col. Morrieson.
2	None	7	Mint-mark overstruck on plume.	·L·R	6	· in legend. Mint-mark to left.
3	None	13	Fig. 12, Pl. 1.	·L·R	6	Die of last. Col. Morrieson.
4	None	13	Die of last.	·L·R	6	· in legend. Mint-mark to left.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE ? —Mule Obverse of 1a sixpence ; reverse of a half unite, oval shield, crowned and garnished, with C R at sides.
Mint-mark **rose**.

1	•L	7a	Fig. 13, Pl. 1.	•L	6	Mint-mark to left of crowned shield, with C R at sides. Legend reads CVLTORES • SVI • DEVS • PROTEGIT • Pellet each side of crown. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 3.—Bust with long hair, lovelock and collar ; reverse, shield garnished and C R.
Mint-mark **harp**, issued June 21st, 1632.

1	•L•R	7		•L•R	9	British Museum.
2	•L	8		None	9	No stops in legend.
3	•L•R	10	Fig. 14, Pl. 1.	None	9	As last. British Museum.
4	None	13a		•L•R	9	As last.
5	None	13a	Die of last.	•L•R	9	• in legend.
6	•L•R	13a		•L•R	9	No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
7	•L•R	15	Much larger bust. Crown breaks inner circle.	•L	9	• in legend.

TYPE 3.—Mint-mark **portcullis**, issued July 11th, 1633.

1	•R	15	Mint-mark large, and struck over harp.	None	8	Mint-mark large, stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
2	•R	15	Mint-mark large. Very large bust breaking circle.	•L•R	9	Mint-mark large, stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	15	Mint-mark very small, large bust.	None	8	As last.
4	•L•R	15a	Mint-mark medium, small bust. Fig. 15, Pl. 1.	•L•R	8	Mint-mark small, no stops in legend.
5	•R	15	Mint-mark very small, small bust.	•L•R	8	Die of last. Col. Morrieson.
6	•L	15	Mint-mark small.	•L•R	13	Mint-mark small. No C R by shield. Col. Morrieson.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 3a.—Obverse of the last but no inner circle; the reverse has a round shield, without C R, and generally without inner circle; but see No. 2 bell and No. 9 crown from an old portcullis die which has inner circles.

Mint-mark **bell**, issued June 27th, 1634.

1	·L·R	13	Fig. 1, Pl. 2.	·L·R	9 varied	Stops in legend. Very round shield, Harp No. 9, but right-hand top scroll as No. 8. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	15	With inner circles from an old portcullis die overstruck.	·L·R	8	No stops in legend.
3	·L·R	15		·L·R	8	As last.
4	·L·R	15 ^d		·L·R	8	As last.
5	·L·R	15 ^d		·L·R	8	· in legend. Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 3a.—Mule, mint-marks **crown—bell**.

1	·L·R	15	Obverse mint-mark crown.	·L	8	· in legend. Reverse mint-mark bell. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **crown**, issued June 18th, 1635.

1	·L·R	14		·L·R	8	· in legend. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	15 ^a	Mint-mark overstruck on bell.	·L·R	8	· in legend. Mint-mark overstruck.
3	None	15	Not overstruck.	·L·R	8	· in legend.
4	·L·R	15		·L·R	8	As last. Mint-mark overstruck. British Museum.
5	·L·R	15 ^a		·L·R	8	No · in legend.
6	None	15		·L·R	8	· in legend. British Museum.
7	·L·R	15	Fig. 2, Pl. 2.	·L·R	8	· in legend. Col. Morrieson.
8	·L·R	15	Mint-mark very large.	·L·R	8	As last.
9	·L·R	15	Inner circle on obverse. From the die of bell No. 2, again overstruck.	·L·R	8	As last.
10	·L·R	17	Very rare reading.	·L·R	8	As last.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark tun , issued February 14th, 1636.						
1	None	14	Large bust. Fig. 3, Pl. 2.	•L•R	8	• in legend.
2	•L•R	15	As last.	•L•R	8	As last. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	15	As last.	•L•R	8	As last.
4	•R	15	As last.	•L•R	8	As last.
5	None	15	Medium bust.	•L•R	8	As last.
6	•L•R	15	Small bust. Mint-mark struck over crown.	•L•R	8	As last.
7	None	15	As last.	•L•R	8	As last. British Museum.
TYPE 4.—Obverse has the head of the first Aberystwith sixpence, short beard, short pointed lace collar and a very upright bust. Square shield on reverse. Mint-mark tun .						
1	•L•R	13	Fig. 4, Pl. 2.	•L	11	Lyre-shaped terminals to cross. Col. Morrieson.
2	•L•R	13	Small numerals behind the head.	•L•R	8	Col. Morrieson.
3	None	15		•L•R	11	Col. Morrieson.
4	None	15		None	11	Lyre-shaped terminals to cross. R. Carlyon-Britton.
5	—	15		•L•R	11	
6	•L•R	15	Fig. 5, Pl. 2.	•L•R	11	
TYPE 4a.—Obverse of the second Aberystwith bust, lace collar more pointed and up-curved, beard longer and more pointed, and bust more thrown back than in Type 4. Mint-mark anchor , issued May 8th, 1638.						
1	None	15	Anchor upright.	•L•R	11	Anchor upright.
2	None	15	As last. Fig. 6, Pl. 2.	•L•R	11	Anchor prone, shank to right.
3	•L•R	15	As last.	•L•R	11	Shank to left. British Museum.
4	•L•R	15	Anchor prone, shank to left. Fig. 7, Pl. 2.	•L•R	11	As last. Col. Morrieson.
5	•L•R	15	As last.	None	11	As last. Col. Morrieson.
6	•L	15	As last.	•L	11	As last. Col. Morrieson.
7	None	15a	As last.	•L•R	11	Shank to left.
8	None	15	As last,	•L•R	11	Error REENO for REGNO. Shank to left. R. Carlyon-Britton.
9	•L•R	15	Anchor prone, shank to right.	None	11	Shank to left.
10	•L•R	15	As last.	•L•R	11	Anchor upright. British Museum.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 4a.—Mint-mark **triangle**, issued July 4th, 1639.

1	·L·R	6		·L·R	8	
2	·L·R	6	Overstruck on anchor.	·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
3	·L·R	6	Fig. 8, Pl. 2.	·L·R	11	
4	·L·R	6		·L	9a	Col. Morrieson.
5	·L·R	6		·L·R	8	Mint-mark inverted. Col. Morrieson.
6	·L·R	7 ^d		·L·R	8	
7	·L·R	7		·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
8	·L	11	Very rare reading.	·L·R	8	
9	None	15	Overstruck on anchor.	·L·R	8	
10	None	15	As last.	·L·R	11	Overstruck on anchor.

TYPE 4c.—Older and better head, identical with the bust on Briot's "anchor and B" sixpence. Mint-mark **triangle**.

1	·L	3	The only coin of this reading noted.	·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
2	None	4	Very rare reading.	·L·R	11	
3	·L·R	6		·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
4	·L·R	7		·L·R	11	
5	None	7	No stop after CAROLVS Fig. 9, Pl. 2.	·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
6	·L·R	7		·L·R	8	Col. Morrieson.
7	·L·R	9		·L·R	8	

TYPE 4c.—Mint-mark **star**, issued June 26th, 1640.

1	None	7	Fig. 10, Pl. 2.	·L·R	8	
2	None	9		·L·R	8	

TYPE 4c.—Mint-mark **triangle-in-circle**, issued July 15th, 1641.

1	·L·R	7	Overstruck on star. Fig. 11, Pl. 2.	·L·R	11	Overstruck on star.
2	None	7	Not overstruck.	·L·R	11	Not overstruck.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Harp No.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 4c.—Mint-mark (P), issued May 29th, 1643.

1	·L·R	6		·L·R	3a	Overstruck.
2	·L·R	6		·L·R	9a	Col. Morrieson.
3	·L·R	6		·L·R	11	British Museum.
4	None	6		·L·R	?	British Museum.

TYPE 4c.—mint-mark (R), issued July 15th, 1644.

1	·L·R	6	Overstruck on (P).	·L·R	3a	
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TYPE 4c.—Mint-mark **sun**, issued November 10th, 1645.

1	None	6	Overstruck on eye.	·L·R	9a	Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 4b.—This type appears to be taken from the last Aberystwith bust, so well known on the Aberystwith—Oxford mule sixpences.

Mint-mark (R).

1	None	6	Fig. 12, Pl. 2.	·L·R	9a	Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 4b.—Mint-mark **eye**, issued May 12th, 1645.

1	None	6	Fig. 13, Pl. 2.	·L·R	9a	Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 4b.—Mint-mark **sun**, issued November 10th, 1645.

1	None	6	Fig. 14, Pl. 2.	·L·R	14	
2	·R	6		·L·R	?	British Museum.

TYPE 4b.—Mint-mark **sceptre**, issued February 15th, 1646-7.


1	·L·R	6	Fig. 15, Pl. 2.	·L·R	14	
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SILVER COINS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS.

CHAPTER V.

THE SMALLER DENOMINATIONS.

 HAVE reached the final stage of the long task which I commenced just six years ago, when I read the first chapter of this series on the crowns to the Society in February, 1915.

The smaller denominations are, to a large extent, a reflection of the larger, and similar characteristics distinguish them, but the scarcity of these little pieces makes it much more difficult to trace the minor varieties of the different dies. The one authority by whom the collector has perforce had to be guided in the past, the late Mr. Edward Hawkins at one time Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum is, as I have shown in my previous chapters, frequently at fault in the larger denominations in his generally excellent work on *The Silver Coins of England*, as revised by Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon. In the smaller pieces he becomes still more unreliable and uncertain. This is understandable enough in a work of such comprehensive magnitude, when doubtless he had great difficulty in getting together sufficient pieces to study, from which to arrive at his conclusions and descriptions.

At the same time his work is so essentially a "classic" on the English silver coinage that I have throughout kept to his generic descriptions and enumerations of the types, and purpose to do so to the end so far as is possible; and I have limited my variations to those that are actually imperative.

As is, of course, well known, no groats or threepences were issued from the Tower, but half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies

were all coined with more or less regularity. The general types of the two former denominations were similar, but the design was changed during the plume mint-mark, and the King's bust was then first placed upon these small coins instead of the seeded rose of the first issues, which had followed the type of the preceding monarch.

The halfpennies merely exhibited the rose on each side and were without either legend or mint-mark, and therefore no varieties exist, nor can they be attributed to any special issue. The following remarks therefore apply only to :—

THE HALF-GROATS AND PENNIES.

Type 1 has on each side a full-blown rose, surmounted by a crown in the case of the half-groat, and lacking that emblem in that of the penny. The obverse legend, which is enclosed in a dotted circle, is C · D · G · ROSA SINE SPINA ; the reverse has the legend IVS · THRONVM FERMAT or FIRMAT, and in some cases the mint-mark precedes, in others follows, the legend on either side. The mint-marks on the half-groats are the lys, the cross Calvary, and the negro's head, and on the penny the lys, the negro's head and one or two pellets instead of a distinctive mint-mark.

Type 1*a* is similar, but the dotted circle is now omitted, though there is a mule with mint-mark castle between Types 1 and 1*a*. The mint-marks are the negro's head, the castle, the anchor, the heart or the plume on the half-groat, and the lys or one pellet or two pellets on the penny.

There are no corresponding changes to Types 1*b*, 1*c*, or 2 in the small denominations, but there are several mules of two mint-marks in both denominations ; and Col. Morrieson has a very rare, if not unique, muled half-groat in which the seeded-rose reverse of Types 1 and 1*a* is used in conjunction with the new obverse with bust of Type 2*a*.

Type 2*a* shows the King's bust in ruff and mantle, like the shilling and sixpence of 2*a*, on the obverse, and with a similar oval



1, Type I, die 1, lys.



2, I, 2, lys.



3, I, 3, lys.



4, I, 1, cross Calvary.



5, I, 1, negro's head.



6, Ia, 1, castle.



7, Ia, 2, castle.



8, Ia, 1, anchor.



9, Ia, 1, heart.



10, Ia, 1, plume.



11, IIa-Ia, MULE, plume.



12, IIa, 1, plume.



13, IIa, 3, rose.



14, IIb, 1, rose.



15, III, 3, harp.



16, III, 1, portcullis.



17, III, 2, portcullis.



18, III, 4, portcullis.

shield garnished, but without the C R on the reverse. The legends are CARO or CAROLVS, with various abbreviations of the title, the figures of value being expressed behind the bust, and the mint-mark above the bust on the obverse, whilst on the reverse the legend now has the usual form IVSTITIA and the mint-mark is repeated. The mint-marks in this type are the plume and the rose on both the half-groat and the penny.

Type 2*b*.—The obverse is similar to Type 2*a*, and the reverse is also similar but has a plume over the shield of arms to denote the Welsh origin of the metal, and this is the only type which discloses the variety. The mint-marks are the plume and the rose on the half-groat, and the type does not occur in the penny denomination.

Type 3 exhibits the King's bust in pointed lace collar, similar to the shilling. Some coins have inner circles, others none, and the C R is now introduced at the sides of the shield, sometimes centrally and sometimes much higher up. The mint-marks are the rose, the harp, the portcullis and the crown on the half-groat, but I have only found the rose and the harp on the penny. There are, however, pennies with this bust and a similar shield, with the letters C R but without other mint-marks than two dots or pellets, which were undoubtedly contemporaneous with the later issues of the half-groat in this type.

Type 3*a* has the same head, but the shield is rounder and the C R has disappeared. The mint-marks are the portcullis, the bell, the crown, the tun, the anchor, the triangle, the star, the triangle-in-circle, the (P), the (R), the eye, and the sceptre on the half-groat, and similar pieces with the mint-marks harp, portcullis, bell, and triangle occur as pennies, and others without other mint-mark than dots or pellets.

From the mint-mark triangle to the end all coins have inner circles, and the pennies without mint-marks but corresponding to the half-groat with the mint-mark, can be more or less correctly assigned by this peculiarity.

Type 4 has a much older and shorter head, with a long flowing

moustache and pointed beard, on the obverse, and a perfectly round shield on the reverse. On a few half-groats and some pennies the head from an Aberystwith punch is used. There is a dotted inner circle on both sides. The mint-marks are the eye, the sun, and the sceptre on the half-groats, and similar pennies occur but with pellets in lieu of the mint-marks.

The Harp.—There do not appear to be many varieties of the Irish harp, and the minuteness of the coins and general poor effect of striking pieces so small render it almost impossible to describe the differences therein. Generally speaking, however, we may consider that an Irish harp equivalent to our Nos. 1 and 3*a*, in the shillings and sixpences, was current during Type 2*a* on the half-groats and down to Type 3 on the pennies, and an equivalent to harp Nos. 4, 11, 14 or 15 in all later issues of both.

Of the obverse legends the King's name is generally abbreviated to CARO on the earlier issues with the bust, but CAROLVS in full appears on the later, with the following abbreviations of the titles on both denominations :—

No. 15. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI !	15 <i>e</i> . Same, but : stops.
No. 19. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · H !	19 <i>e</i> . Same, but : stops.
No. 21. MA ! BR ! F ! ET HI !	
No. 22. MA ! BR ! F ! ET H !	
No. 23. MA ! B ! FR ! ET HI !	23 <i>e</i> . Same, but : stops.
No. 24. M ! B ! FRA ! ET · HIB !	
No. 25. M ! B ! FR ! ET H !	
No. 26. M ! B ! F ! ET H !	<div> <div>26<i>c</i>. Same, but pellet stops.</div> <div>26<i>e</i>. Same, but : stops.</div> <div>This is the only abbreviation in use after the harp mint-mark.</div> </div>
No. 27. MA ! B ! F ! ET · H !	27 <i>e</i> . Same, but : stops.
No. 28. M ! B ! F ! ET HI !	

The addition of the usual table of discovered varieties will be added at the conclusion of these notes and will bring my work to a close.



1, Type IIIa, die 1,
portcullis.



2, IIIa, 2, bell.



3, IIIa, 1, crown.



4, IIIa, 2, tun.



5, IIIa, 1, anchor.



6, IIIa, 2, anchor.



7, IIIa, 6, anchor.



8, IIIa, 4, triangle.



9, IIIa, 4, star.



10, IIIa, 2, triangle in circle.



11, IIIa, 1, (P).



12, IIIa, 3, (P).



13, IIIa, 3 (R).



14, IIIa, 1, eye.



15, IV, 1, eye.



16, IV, 1, sun.



17, IV, 3, sun.



18, IV, 1, sceptre.

"The Tower Mint of Charles I" has been a subject of absorbing interest and great educational value to me, but I feel from the very nature of it that to my readers it may have occasionally bordered on the tedious, because however absorbing its varied issues are to the student of them, I realise that it is difficult in the extreme to hold and convey that interest in a description of minor varieties.

The coins themselves must be examined and studied to extract from them the historic and numismatic stories they have to tell. Stories from which one can reconstruct the political history of the powerful monarch of a great kingdom in his zenith, followed by the first mutterings of the greatest rebellion and civil war which this country has ever known, when he was driven from his throne and from his capital, and his very portraits and the superscription on his coinage reft from him by the representatives of his people, to be used against him at the time when the monarch himself was issuing other coinages bearing a similar image and the same superscription in those towns and citadels of his kingdom which still remained faithful to their king. Imagine Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Weymouth, Worcester, and York, with a host of lesser places, all issuing coinages to pay the king's troops and household at the same time that the Tower was steadily and methodically proceeding with its issues in that king's name to pay for troops and munitions of war to be used against him, and finally to bring him to imprisonment and the scaffold! What a subject for thought it is in these present days when our own coinage in the precious metals has been so reduced and jeopardised by the recent war that our gold coins are almost non-existent and have been replaced by paper money, whilst our silver coins are the subject of debasement.

A four years' war in the twentieth century has had this effect to-day on the most powerful empire in the world! Yet three hundred years ago, in a struggle that lasted for full ten years—for one may well time its commencement from the date of the commission issued on the 20th May, 1638, to the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with the Covenanters at Edinburgh—through

all these ten years of struggle and bloodshed, through all the shifts to which he was put for resources in his fight for his kingdom and his throne, to his eternal credit the king never once debased his coinage or issued a substitute. Yet Bailie tells us that as early as December, 1638, "The king's first necessity was money," and throughout the whole ten years the history of the struggle is summed up in those six words, "The king's first necessity was money." What interest that gives to the coinages he authorised, to the well-named "moneys of necessity," and particularly to the Tower issues which were used against him whilst they purported to bear his authority as they bore his portrait and his titles.

The story as told by those coins of three hundred years ago may teach us many lessons to-day if we care to read them, and I can only hope that the bald catalogue of the minor varieties of the issues, which it has been my task to seek, tabulate, and describe, may impart to my readers some portion of that pleasure and interest which the study of the coins has given to me ; and I feel the necessity for a final apology for the somewhat prosaic nature of these chapters. If the printed tables prove, as I hope and think they will, of some use to students of the coinages of this troubled period, I shall be well repaid.

I again desire to express my gratitude to those numismatic friends who have rendered me their great assistance, and especially to Colonel Morrieson for the loan of many pieces from his inimitable collection, without which I could not possibly have fully illustrated these pages.



1, Type I, 1a,
mule.



2, IIa, 1, plume.



3, IIa, 3, plume.



4, IIa, 3, rose.



5, III, 2, harp.



6, IIIa, 1, harp.



7, IIIa, 4, harp.



8, IIIa, 1, bell.



9, IIIa, 1, triangle.



10, IIIa, 1, MULE.



11, IIIa, 1, pellets.



12, IIIa, 2, pellets.



13, IV, 1, pellets.



14, halfpenny.

HALF-GROATS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.¹

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DIE DIFFERENCES.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
<p>TYPE 1.—On each side a full-blown rose, crowned; with the obverse legend C · D · G · ROSA · SINE · SPINA · Reverse legend IVS THRONVM FIRMAT, rarely FERMAT, noted below, with legend in a dotted circle. Mint-mark <i>Iys</i>, issued July 7th, 1625.</p>					
1	None	C · D · G	Mint-mark to left of crown. Fig. 1, Pl. I.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown, reads FERMAT. Stops in legend.
2	None	C D G No stops	As last. Fig. 2, Pl. I. ²	None	Mint-mark to left of crown. : after IVS, but no other stops.
3	None	C : D : G :	As last. Fig. 3, Pl. I.	None	No mint-mark or stops on reverse. British Museum and Col. Morrieson.
4	None	C : D : G :	As last.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown. Legend reads IVS · THRON · FIRMAT · Miss Helen Farquhar.
5	None	C : D : G :	Mint-mark to right of crown.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown. Legend reads FERMAT, as No. 1. Col. Morrieson.
6	None	C · D · G ·	No mint-mark on obverse.	· L · R	Mint-mark to left of crown; no stops in legend. British Museum.
7	None	C · D : G	Mint-mark to left of crown.	None	No mint-mark on reverse. Reads FERMAT. British Museum.
8	· L	C · D · G ·	As last.	None	No mint-mark on reverse. British Museum.
<p>TYPE 1.—Mint-mark <i>cross Calvary</i>, issued June 29th, 1626.</p>					
1	None	C : D : G :	Mint-mark to right of crown. Fig. 4, Pl. I.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown; IVS : No other stops.
2	None	C : D : G :	As last.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown. Miss Helen Farquhar.
3	None	C : D : G :	Mint-mark to left of crown.	None	As last. Col. Morrieson.
4	None	C : D : G :	As last.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown. Col. Morrieson.
5	None	C : D : G :	Mint-mark to right of crown.	· L · R	Mint-mark to left of crown. IVS : British Museum.
<p>TYPE 1.—Mint-mark <i>negro's head</i>, issued June 29th, 1626.</p>					
1	None	C : D : G :	Mint-mark to right of crown. Fig. 5, Pl. I.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown. Col. Morrieson.

¹ As before, unless otherwise stated, the coins described are in the author's collection.² By error the obverse is repeated in place of the reverse on the plate.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
MULE. TYPE 1a-1.—Beaded circle on reverse, but without circle on obverse. Mint-mark castle , issued April 27th, 1627.					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to right of crown. No circle.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown; beaded circle. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—As Type 1, but without circles on either side. Mint-mark negro's head .					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to left of crown.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown. Miss Helen Farquhar.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark castle .					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to left of crown. Fig. 6, Pl. 1.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown.
2	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to right of crown. Fig. 7, Pl. 1.	None	As last. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	C:D:G:	As last.	None	Mint-mark to right of crown. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark anchor , issued July 3rd, 1628.					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark, upright, to left of crown. Fig. 8, Pl. 1.	None	Mint-mark, upright, to left of crown, struck over castle.
2	None	C:D:G:	As last, but mint-mark inverted.	None	Mint-mark, inverted, to left of crown. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark, upright, to left of crown.	None	Mint-mark to left, shank to right. Col. Morrieson.
4	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark, shank to right, to left of crown.	None	As last. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark heart , issued June 26th, 1629.					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to left of crown. Fig. 9, Pl. 1. ¹	None	Mint-mark to left of crown.
2	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark struck over anchor to left of crown.	None	As last. Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark plume , issued June 23rd, 1630.					
1	None	C:D:G:	Mint-mark to left of crown. Fig. 10, Pl. 1.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown. Col. Morrieson.
MULE. TYPE 2a-1a.—King's bust on obverse, as described under 2a; seeded rose, crowned, on reverse.					
1	None	MAG:B:F: ET:H:	Fig. 11, Pl. 1.	None	Mint-mark to left of crown. Col. Morrieson.

¹ The obverse and reverse are transposed on the plate.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 2a.—King's bust in ruff and mantle as on the shillings and sixpences. Oval shield, without C R above it, on reverse, surrounded by the legend *IVSTITIA THRONVM FIRMAT*.

Mint-mark plume.

1	None	15	King's name CARO. Fig. 12, Pl. 1.	·L·R	Five single pellets above shield, bird-headed harp. Stops in legend.
2	None	19	King's name CARO.	·L·R	Bird-headed harp.
3	None	21	King's name CAROLVS.	·L·R	As last.
4	None	15	King's name CAROLVS.	·L·R	British Museum. Bird-headed harp.

TYPE 2a.—Mint-mark *rose*, issued June 30th, 1631.

1	·L·R	15	CARO.	·L·R	As last.
2	·L·R	MAG:BR: F:ET·H:	CAROLVS.	·L·R	As last.
3	·L·R	25	CAROLVS. Fig. 13, Pl. 1.	·L·R	As last.

TYPE 2b.—As Type 2a, but with large central plume above the shield.

Mint-mark plume.

1	·L	19e			No mint-mark on reverse. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	MAG!B!FR! ET·H!		None	As last. British Museum.

TYPE 2b.—Mint-mark *rose*.

1	None	15	Mint-mark overstruck on plume. Fig. 14, Pl. 1.	·L·R	Mint-mark to left of plume overstruck. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 3.—Bust with lovelock, in pointed lace collar. All coins read CAROLVS. Reverse has an oval shield, garnished, with C R at sides. Harps on reverse are plain.

Mint-mark rose.

1	None	23	No inner circle.		No circle. British Museum.
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TYPE 3.—Mint-mark *harp*, issued June 21st, 1632.

1	None	23e	Inner circle.	·L·R	Inner circle. C R centrally.
2	None	24	No circle.	·L·R	Inner circle. C R centrally. British Museum.
3	·L·R	26e	No circle. Fig. 15, Pl. 1.	·L·R	No circle. Stops in legend. C R centrally.
4	·L·R	26e	No circle.	·L	No circle. C R very high. No stops in legend.
5	None	23e	Inner circle.	None	No circle. C R very high.
6	·L	26	No circle.	·L·R	Inner circle. C R high.
7	·L·R	26e	Inner circle.	None	No circle. C R very high.
8	·L	27	Inner circle	·L·R	No circle. C R centrally.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 3.—Mint-mark **portcullis**, issued July 11th, 1633.

1	None	26e	Mint-mark overstruck, inner circle. Fig. 16, Pl. 1.	:L	Mint-mark overstruck, inner circle. C R very high.
2	None	26e	Inner circle. Fig. 17, Pl. 1.	·L·R	Mint-mark not overstruck. No inner circle. C R centrally. Col. Morrieson.
3	·L·R	26e	Inner circle.	·L·R	Mint-mark not overstruck. C R centrally. No inner circle.
4	None	26e	No inner circle. Fig. 18, Pl. 1.	·L·R	Mint-mark overstruck. Inner circle. C R very high.

TYPE 3.—Mint-mark **crown**.

1	None	26	No inner circle.	None	No circle. C R centrally. British Museum.
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TYPE 3a.—Similar to the last, but the reverse has a rounder shield without C R and without inner circles, except where otherwise stated.

Mint-mark **portcullis**.

1	None	26e	Inner circle. Fig. 1, Pl. 2.	None	No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	26e		·L·R	

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **bell**, issued June 27th, 1634.

1	None	26e		·L·R	Stops in legend.
2	·L·R	26	Fig. 2, Pl. 2.	·L·R	As last.

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **crown**, issued June 18th, 1635.

1	None	26e	Fig. 3, Pl. 2.	None	
2	·L·R	26e		None	Mint-mark overstruck on bell. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	26e		·L·R	Mint-mark not overstruck. Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **tun**, issued February 14th, 1635-6.

1	·L·R	26		·L	Stops in legend.
2	None	26e	Fig. 4, Pl. 2.	·L·R	No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	26c		·L·R	Stops in legend. Weighs 22 grains. Col. Morrieson.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark anchor , issued May 8th, 1638.					
1	None	26e	Aberystwith bust. Anchor prone, shank to left.	·L·R	Anchor prone, shank to left; no circle.
2	·R	26e	Fig. 5, Pl. 2. Aberystwith bust. Fig. 6, Pl. 2.	?	? Mint-mark obliterated. Inner circle, no stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	26	Usual bust; anchor upright.	·L·R	Anchor prone, shank to left; stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
4	None	26	Anchor prone, shank to left.	None	Anchor upright; stops in legend. Col. Morrieson.
5	None	26e	Anchor prone, shank to left.	·L·R	Anchor prone, shank to left; no stops. Col. Morrieson.
6	·L·R	26e	Anchor prone, shank to left. Very small bust, from a penny puncheon. Fig. 7, Pl. 2.	None	Anchor prone, shank to left; no stops. Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 3a.—As last, but some coins of this mint-mark, and all coins after it, have inner circles on both sides.

Mint-mark **triangle**, issued July 4th, 1639.

1	·L·R	26e	No circle, mint-mark struck over anchor.	·L·R	No circle; mint-mark overstruck. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	26e	Inner circle.	·L·R	As last. Col. Morrieson.
3	None	26	Inner circle.	·L·R	As last. Col. Morrieson.
4	·L·R	26e	Inner circle. Fig. 8, Pl. 2.	·L·R	Inner circle.
5	None	26e	Inner circle.	·L·R	As last.

TYPE 3a.—MULE. Mint-mark **triangle** obverse, **star** reverse.

1	None	26e	Inner circle.	·L·R	Mint-mark star, inner circle. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **star**, issued June 26th, 1640.

1	None	26e	Overstruck on triangle.	·L·R	Overstruck on triangle. Col. Morrieson.
2	None	26e	Not overstruck.	·L·R	Overstruck on triangle.
3	None	26c	Not overstruck.	·L·R	Not overstruck.
4	None	26e	Not overstruck. Fig. 9, Pl. 2.	·L·R	As last.
5	None	26e	Not overstruck.	·L·R	Very small mint mark, not overstruck. Col. Morrieson.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark triangle-in-circle , issued July 15th, 1641.					
1	None	26e		•L•R	Overstruck on star.
2	•L•R	26e	Fig. 10, Pl. 2.	•L•R	As last.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark (P), issued May 29th, 1643.					
1	None	26	Fig. 11, Pl. 2.	?	Col. Morrieson.
2	•L•R	26		•L•R	
3	None		This coin reads M! B! ET H! the French title being omitted. Fig. 12, Pl. 2.	•L	British Museum.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark (R), issued July 15th, 1644.					
1	•R	26		•L•R	T \boxplus RONVM.
2	None	26		•L•R	There is a variety of bust on one or two coins in this mint-mark.
3	•L•R	26	Fig. 13, Pl. 2.	•L	T \boxplus RONVM.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark eye .					
1	•L•R	26e	Fig. 14, Pl. 2.	•L•R	Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark sceptre .					
1	•L•R	26e		•L•R	Col. Morrieson.
TYPE 4.—Older head with heavy moustache and pointed beard. Mint-mark eye , issued May 12th, 1645.					
1	•L•R	26	Fig. 15, Pl. 2.	•L•R	
TYPE 4.—Mint-mark sun , issued November 10th, 1645.					
1	•L•R	26e	Overstruck on eye. Fig. 16, Pl. 2.	•L•R	Overstruck on eye.
2	•L•R	26e	Not overstruck.	None	As last. Col. Morrieson.
3	•L•R	26e	As last. Fig. 17, Pl. 2.	•L•R	Not overstruck.
TYPE 4.—Mint-mark sceptre , issued February 15th, 1646-7.					
1	•L	26e	Fig. 18, Pl. 2.	•L•R	
2	•L•R	26e		•L•R	British Museum.

PENNIES OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.¹

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DIE DIFFERENCES.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 1.—On each side a full blown rose, but no surmounting crown. Legends as on the half-groats. Beaded circles on obverse.

MULE. TYPE 1-1a.—Mint-mark **negro's head**—**pellets**.

1	None	C : D : G :	No circle, mint-mark negro's head. Fig. 1, Pl. 3.		Inner circle, but .. for mint-mark. Col. Morrieson.
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TYPE 1.—Mint-mark **one or two pellets**.

1	:	C · D · G ·		2 pellets	Col. Morrieson.
2	..	C · D · G ·		2 pellets	Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 1a.—As Type 1, but without inner circles.
Mint-mark **lys**.

1	· L · R	C · D · G ·	No circle.	None	No circle. Col. Morrieson.
2	· L · R	C : D : G :	As last.	None	No circle.
3	· L · R	C D G	As last.	None	As last.

TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark **one or two pellets**.

1	:	C : D : G :		..	Col. Morrieson.
2	..	C : D : G :		..	Col. Morrieson.
3	.	C : D : G :		.	Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 2a.—King's head in ruff and mantle. Oval shield without C R above it. Legends as on the half-groats; sometimes with or without inner circles.

Mint-mark **plume**, issued June 23rd, 1630.

1	None	25	No inner circle. Fig. 2, Pl. 3.	· L · R	No inner circle. Col. Morrieson.
2	None	27 ^e	No inner circle.	· L · R	Col. Morrieson.
3	· L · R	27	Inner circle. Fig. 3, Pl. 3.	· L · R	Inner circle. British Museum.

TYPE 2a.—MULE.—Obverse mint-mark **rose**, reverse mint-mark **plume**.

1	None.	27	No circles.	· L · R	No circle. Col. Morrieson.
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¹ As before, unless otherwise stated, the coins described are in the author's collection.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 2a.—Mint-mark **rose**, issued June 30th, 1631.

1	None.	28	Inner circle.	•L•R	Inner circle. Col. Morrieson.
2	•L	25e	No inner circle.	•L	No circle. Col. Morrieson.
3	•L	27e	As last. Fig. 4, Pl. 3.	•L•R	As last. Col. Morrieson.
4	None	26e	Inner circle.	•L	As last. British Museum.

TYPE 3.—Bust in lace collar. Reverse has oval shield with sometimes C R at sides.
Mint-mark **rose**.

1	None	19	No circle.	None	No circle. British Museum.
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TYPE 3.—Mint-mark **harp**, issued June 21st, 1632.

1	•	22	Pellet only for mint-mark.	•L•R	C R high. Col. Morrieson.
2	•	27	Pellet only for mint-mark. Fig. 5, Pl. 3.	None	C R high. British Museum.

TYPE 3.—Mint-mark **one or two pellets**.

1	••	26e	No circles.	••	
2	••	26e	As last.	••	C R high. Col. Morrieson.
3	•	26e	As last.	••	C R high. Col. Morrieson.

TYPE 3a.—Obverse of Type 3. Reverse oval shield without C R
Mint-mark **harp**.

1	•	22	Pellet only for mint-mark, on obverse. Fig. 6, Pl. 3.	None	Mint-mark harp, reverse. Col. Morrieson.
2	None	26	Mint-mark harp, obverse.	None	
3	•L	27e	Beaded inner circle broken by the head.	None	No circle.
4	•L	26e	No circle. Fig. 7, Pl. 3.	None No mint-mark.	Beaded inner circle.

TYPE 3a.—MULE. Obverse mint-mark **portcullis**; reverse mint-mark **harp**.

1	None	26e		•L	
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Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **portcullis**, issued July 11th, 1633.

1	None	26e		·L·R	
2	None	26e	No circles.	·L	No circles. British Museum.
3	·L	26e		·L	Mint-mark overstruck. H. A. Parsons.

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **bell**, issued June 27th, 1634.

1	·L·R	26e	Fig. 8, Pl. 3.	·L·R	Col. Morrieson.
2	·L·R	25e	The punch mark of the figure 1 on this coin would appear to be missing.	·L·R	H. A. Parsons.

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **triangle**, issued July 4th, 1639.

1	·L·R	26e	Fig. 9, Pl. 3.		Mint-mark single pellet. Col. Morrieson.
2	·L	26e			No mint-mark. H. A. Parsons.

TYPE 3a.—MULE. Obverse mint-mark **pellets**; reverse **triangle**.

1	..	26	Obverse mint-mark .. See page 103 under Type 3 for the bust. Fig. 10, Pl. 3.	·L·R	British Museum.
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TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark **one or two pellets**.¹

1	..	26e	Fig. 11, Pl. 3.	..	
2	..	26e	Fig. 12, Pl. 3.	·	
3	...	26e		·	Col. Morrieson.
4	·.·	26e		...	Col. Morrieson.
5	..	26e		None	Col. Morrieson.
6	None	26e		·.·	Col. Morrieson.
7	None	26e		·	Col. Morrieson.

¹ A penny exists with a slightly different bust from the same puncheon as the half-groat, No. 6 anchor. Col. Morrieson and British Museum.

Die No.	Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark.	Legend No.	Remarks—Obverse.	Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark.	Remarks—Reverse.
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TYPE 4.—Older head, with heavy moustache. Inner circles on obverse, not on reverse.

Mint-marks **pellets**.

1	..	26e	Fig. 13, Pl. 3.	..	
2	..	26		None	
3	None	26		..	
4	..	26e		None	
5	.	26e		..	
6	.	26e		...	British Museum.

TYPE 4.—Similar, but the so-called Aberystwith head as on the coins of that mint. Inner circles on obverse but none on reverse.

Mint-mark **pellets**.


1	:	26e		?	Col. Morrieson.
2	..	26e		..	Col. Morrieson.
3	.	26e		..	Col. Morrieson.
4	None	26e		None	Col. Morrieson.

HALFPENNY. Rose each side. Fig. 14, Pl. 3.

A REVIEW OF THE COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

PART I.—THE HAMMERED COINAGE.

HARLES II ascended the throne on May 29th, 1660, although his regnal years are reckoned from the death of his father on January 30th, 1648-9. On June 27th, 1660, an order was issued for the preparation of dies, puncheons, etc., for the making of gold and silver coins, and on July 20th an indenture was entered into with Sir Ralph Freeman, Master of the Mint, which provided for the coinage of the same pieces and of the same value as those which had been coined in the time of his father.¹ The mint authorities were slow in getting to work, and on August 10th an order was sent to the Wardens of the Mint directing the engraver, Thomas Simon, to prepare the dies. The King was in a hurry to get the money bearing his effigy issued, and reminders were sent to the Wardens on August 18th and September 21st directing them to hasten the issue. This must have taken place before the end of the year, because the mint returns between July 20th and December 31st, 1660,² showed that 543 lbs. of silver, £1683 6s. in value, had been coined.

These coins were considered by many to be amongst the finest of the English series. They fittingly represent the swan song of the Hammered Coinage, as the hammer was finally superseded by the mill and screw a short two years later.

The denominations coined were the unite of twenty shillings, the double crown of ten shillings, and the crown of five shillings, in gold; and the half-crown, shilling, sixpence, half-groat, penny,

¹ *Ruding*, II, p. 2.

² *Snelling*, *View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 54.

and, after November, 1661, the groat and threepence in silver. No crown in silver is known, although seemingly it was included in the indenture. Halfpence were also struck, but cannot be distinguished from those of the Tower Mint of Charles I.

Some months after the issue of these moneys an order dated November 28th, 1661, directed that in future the value should be stamped on the several pieces. The weight of the unite at the same time appears to have been reduced from $140\frac{20}{41}$ to $131\frac{29}{41}$ grains.

By a proclamation of September 7th, 1661, the money of the Commonwealth, nicknamed "breeches money," from the arrangement of the shields on the reverse, was ordered not to be current after the 30th of November then next; this date, however, was later postponed till May, 1662.

On the 24th of January, 1661-2, Simon was ordered to deliver up all the tools, etc., for coinage which were in his possession to the officers of the mint, but, doubtless, his dies were used during the year 1662 and for the maundy money some years after that, for though there are milled crowns dated 1662 it is known that they were not issued till 1663.

In April, 1662, Peter Blondeau, who had previously made some patterns for the Commonwealth Government in 1651, was invited to return from France, and an agreement was entered into with him under which he was "to furnish all the mills, rollers, presses, and other instruments, to cut, flatten, make round and size the pieces; the engine to mark the edges of the money with letters and graining, the great presses for the coinage of monies, and all other tools and engines for the new way of coining." He also undertook "to discover his secrets in rounding pieces before they are sized, and in marking the edges of the monies"¹ to the mint authorities.

A new Dutch engraver, John Roettier, was joined to Thomas Simon, and the two were directed to prepare designs for the new coinage. As was to be expected, these two would not work together, so a competition was arranged between them, with the result that

¹ Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, p. 379.

the former was successful. The preference shown to the foreigner so much upset Simon that, early in 1663, he produced that celebrated protest known as the petition crown, so called from its having the following petition impressed upon the edge: THOMAS · SIMON · MOST · HUMBLY · PRAYS · YOUR MAJESTY TO · COMPARE · THIS · HIS · TRYALL · PIECE · WITH · THE · DUTCH · AND · IF · MORE · TRULY · DRAWN · & EMBOSS'D · MORE · GRACE : FULLY · ORDER'D · AND · MORE · ACCURATELY · ENGRAVEN · TO · RELEIVE · HIM ·; two C's interlinked and crowned, within two palm-branches, separate the beginning and ending of this inscription. This piece is also found with another inscription on the edge, REDDITE · QVAE · CAESARIS · CAESARI &c POST, clouds and lightning, beyond which the sun shining in splendour. Hence it is known as the Reddite crown.¹

Simon was not employed by the mint authorities after this, but he still remained an engraver of seals till his death in 1665. By November Blondeau had probably got his engines ready, for on the 5th of that month the order was made directing that the mill in future was to be used for coining.

The mint-mark for all these hammered coins is the crown, although on a few of the silver pieces it is omitted. This is the last occasion that a mint-mark appears on any English coin.

The Gold Issues of the Hammered Coinage.

Of the gold coinage there are two varieties with and without values. The obverse has a laureated bust in profile to the left, the hair long, in armour with the neck bare, no inner circles, and with or without numerals for value behind the head. The legend on the unite and double crown is CAROLVS II · D ! G ! MAG ! BRIT ! FRAN ! ET · HIB ! REX further abbreviated in the crown to BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! The pellets by the mint-mark vary, some dies having none, others one on each or either side. The reverse has no mint-mark nor inner circle, and bears a crowned and ornamented oval shield between C R and the legend is FLORENT · CONCORDIA · REGNA.

¹ Illustrated vol. v, p. 241.

After the introduction of the milled coins the unite and double crown were known as the broad and half-broad respectively.

The Silver Issues of the Hammered Coinage.

The silver coinage differs from the gold in having a different bust on the obverse and shield and legend on the reverse. The obverse has a crowned bust in profile to the left, hair long, in armour with a lace collar, with or without inner circles and numerals, and the same legend, only with more abbreviations owing to the smaller size of the majority of the coins. The pellets by the mint-mark, which is not always on the obverse, also vary in the same manner as on the gold issues. The reverse has a square shield on a cross fleury similar to that of the last shilling of Charles I; sometimes an inner circle and the legend CHRISTO·AVSPICE·REGNO.

These silver coins appear to have been struck as required and not in any particular order. *Hawkins* arranges them in four issues: 1st, without numerals or inner circles; 2nd, with numerals but no inner circles; 3rd, with numerals and inner circles; 4th, a set of maundy money which evidently was struck in collar. Mr. Webb, in his remarks on the Early Coins of Charles II,¹ arranges the small money in six varieties, the last three being struck in collar. The larger denominations he divides into three more, making nine in all. By a combination of these two arrangements one of six can be evolved by adding three higher denominations to those of the smaller, with which they most nearly agree.

A slight alteration in Mr. Webb's order has to be made, as he puts the smaller money with inner circles before that with no inner circles but with numerals. He is probably correct as, notwithstanding the absence of the groat and threepence, the half-groat and penny look as if they had been struck in collar. Mr. T. H. B. Graham² suggests that these, and those of the fifth and sixth series, were struck by Simon in a private press outside the mint.

The first series is said to consist of sixpence, half-groat³ and

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 2nd Series, xix, p. 86.

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, xi, p. 66.

³ *Ruding*, Supplement, vi, 10, 11, 12.

penny, all with a single arched crown. They bear no mint-mark, merely a pellet, no numerals for value nor inner circles, and the legend commences at the top and is continuous all round. It is doubtful whether the sixpence or half-groat exists.

The second series, consisting of half-crown, shilling, sixpence, half-groat and penny, differs from the first in having the mint-mark crown on the obverse, which in the first two denominations is double arched. Mr. Webb remarks, in his paper, that the last two pieces, the half-groat and penny, had been considered by some as patterns. Of the half-groats in the writer's collection there are two varieties, one reading B with colon stops, the other BRIT with no stops. The penny is very rare.

The placing of the bust on the half-crown was a departure from the custom of the king's father and grandfather, who had been represented on this denomination, and on the crown, as riding a horse and holding a sword in the right hand. His brother James II, during his unhappy stay in Ireland in 1690, after his flight from England, reverted to this style by placing an equestrian portrait of himself on his gunmetal crowns. Since then no similar representation of the sovereign has appeared on the coinage.

The third series, which consists of the same denominations as the second, varies only, except that the sixpence has a double arched crown, in having the numerals for value behind the head ; it was therefore issued after the 28th of November, 1661. The half-groat and penny, which have the mint-mark on both sides, have all the appearance of having been struck in collar, and may therefore have been issued later. Mr. Graham has a half-groat not so struck which completes the link.

The fourth series consists of half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, half-groat, and penny. These have dotted inner circles, numerals and the mint-mark on both sides. This being the commonest of all the series, there are, as might be expected, a number of varieties. Of the half-crowns in the writer's cabinet one reads BR'·FR'· with pellets on each side of the mint-mark ; the other BRI'·FRA'·, with no pellets by the mint-mark on the

reverse. Of the shillings there are also two varieties, one reading BRIT·FR·, the other BRI:FRA ∴ Of the first there are two dies, differing from one another by one having pellets on each side of the mint-mark on both sides, the other being without them. This series is the first of the reign in which the groat and threepence appear, so new dies for these denominations had to be prepared. The bust on them varies slightly from those on the other pieces. On the older portraits the hair falls evenly on the shoulders, whereas on the new the hair is parted, part falling in front, the rest behind, leaving the shoulder bare. Of the threepences there are two obverses and two reverses, one having pellets on each side of the mint-mark, the other none. Of the half-groat, one obverse reads BR:FRA: another BRI:FRA. One of the former has a pellet on each side of the mint-mark, the others are without. There are also different dies of the reverse, one having a pellet on each side of the mint-mark, the other having one on the right only. The obverse of the penny as regards pellets varies as the half-groat, but the reverse has the pellet on each side of the mint-mark. There are doubtless other varieties in the different denominations.

The fifth series consists of a half-groat and penny, which differ from those of the third, being smaller and having the bust, as on the previous half-groats, extending to the edge of the coin; and the legend, which has & for ET, begins at the bottom. The crown has two arches and the mint-mark is on the reverse only. Those pieces have evidently been struck in collar: and if Mr. Graham is correct as to the private press, they must have been coined by it.

The sixth and last series consists of the groat, threepence, half-groat and penny. They have numerals and no inner circles, and the bust is somewhat similar to that on the groat and threepence of the fourth series. The crown has four arches and the mint-mark is on the reverse only. The legend commences at the bottom and has & for ET. These coins are the smallest in size and are of the same diameter as those afterwards struck under the new process. They have every appearance of having been coined by the mill, and probably were so issued for the purposes of the royal

maundy for some years, as no full set of these pieces was coined till 1670, though some half-groats appeared in 1668. As evidence in favour of this theory, Mr. H. Symonds, in his paper on The Pyx Trials of Charles II,¹ states that between 1660 and 1670 there were three trials. The first was held on the 9th of July, 1663, which therefore concerned the hammered money ; the second on the 4th of July, 1664, when the pyx contained half-groats and pennies in addition to the milled silver denominations of that date, namely, crowns, half-crowns, and shilling ; and the third, on the 4th of August, 1669, when all the four maundy pieces were included. On each occasion the pyx contained coins struck down to the date of trial. In their way these little coins are gems of numismatic art, and worthily wind up the hammered series of English coins. Mr. T. H. B. Graham, on pages 66 and 67 of his paper, considered that as the dies for this series bear a similar bust to those on the groat and threepence of the fourth series, they were prepared by Simon between the 28th of November, 1661, and the 24th of January, 1661-62, when he was ordered to deliver up all his tools, etc., to the officers of the mint, as before mentioned..

There are varieties of the reverse die of the groat and half-groat in the pellets by the mint-mark, one having no pellets, the other one on one side only, and the harps in the shields on these dies differ.

Seeing how comparatively rare these hammered pieces are, it comes somewhat as a surprise to find that coins to the value of more than half a million pounds were struck between the 20th of July, 1660, and the 31st of December, 1662. Monmouth's rebellion in the West, in 1688, was the only serious disturbance of public order which occurred in England before the great recoinage of 1696-97, and apart from this there was a total absence of such troubles as were likely to induce people to hide their treasures in the ground. It may therefore be presumed that a very large amount of these moneys remained in circulation until they were finally swept away by the reforming zeal of William III.

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xv, pp. 347-48.

TABLE A.
THE HAMMERED COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

Date.	Mint-mark.	Details.	Gold.			Silver.						
			Unit.	Double Crown.	Crown.	Half-crown.	Shilling.	Six-pence.	Groat.	Three-pence.	Half-groat.	Penny.
1660 ..	None ..	No numerals nor inner circles.	—	—	—	—	—	R	—	—	R	×
1660-61	Crown on the obverse only.	No numerals nor inner circles.	K	K	K	×	×	×	—	—	×	W
1661-62	Crown on the obverse only.	Numerals, no inner circles.	K	K	K	×	×	×	—	—	× ¹	× ¹
1661-62	Crown on both sides.	Numerals and inner circles.	—	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
1661-62	Crown on the reverse only.	Numerals, no inner circles.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	×
1662 ..	Crown on the reverse only.	Numerals, no inner circles.	—	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	×	×

NOTES.—× Represented in the author's collection.

R. Illustrated in *Ruding*, Sup. vi, Figs. 10, 11, 12.

K. Mentioned by Kenyon.

W. Mentioned by Webb.

¹ The mint-mark is on both sides on the half-groat and penny.

PART II.—THE MILLED COINAGE.

During the first two years of his reign, Charles had endeavoured in his coinage, as in everything else, to sweep away all traces of the revolutionary movement which had held sway in England, and the mint had reverted to the style and methods, though it was true that some slight improvement had been made in both, which had characterised the money of his father. It can scarcely be supposed, however, that the king's taste, educated as it had been in France and Holland, was gratified by this revival of mediævalism, and it is not surprising to find that once he felt his position firmly established, he caused to be introduced into the mint something of the classical spirit with which his mind had become imbued. On the introduction of the mill it is not unnatural that a radical change occurred in the design, execution, and size of the coins, and that the renaissance style was succeeded by the classical.

The first of these coins to be struck was a crown, though Snelling mentions also the half-crown and shilling, which is dated 1662; but the proclamation authorising the circulation was published on March 27th, 1663, two days after the commencement of the official year. This was followed later by the guinea, or twenty-shilling piece, in gold, and the half-crown and shilling in silver. The dates of appearance of the other denominations are the two-guineas in 1664; the half-groat in 1668; and the half-guinea in 1669. The rest of the maundy money, namely, the groat, three-pence, and penny, appeared in 1670, and finally the sixpence in 1674. The twenty-shilling piece, officially termed a pound, derived its popular designation of guinea from the fact that the gold of which many of them were made was brought from the Guinea coast by the African Company, which, as an incentive for such importation, was allowed to have its mark, an elephant, changed in 1675 to an elephant with a castle on its back, stamped on the obverse of the coins made of the metal imported by it. These marks are also found respectively on the crowns, half-crowns, and shillings of 1666 and 1681. The guinea was always of greater value

than twenty shillings, and it fluctuated in price up to thirty shillings, but was eventually fixed by Parliament in 1717 at twenty-one shillings.

In 1670 a company, which included Prince Rupert, took over the workings of the royal mines in Wales, and probably through his influence was again given the privilege of stamping coins struck in Welsh silver with the impress of the plume, for in 1671 shillings were coined having the plume below the bust on the obverse and in the centre of the reverse. There are two very rare half-crowns of 1673, one having the plume on the obverse only, the other having it on both sides.

These two privileges continued for many years, the elephant and castle disappeared at the end of the reign of George I; and the last year in which the plume alone appeared was 1731, but it lingered in conjunction with the rose till 1737.

The Gold Issues of the Milled Coinage.

A brief description of the gold issues is perhaps all that is necessary. They consist of the five-guineas, the two-guineas, the guinea, and the half-guinea.

On the obverse is the king's laureated head to the right, the hair long, extending nearly to the edge of the coin, and dividing the legend at both the top and bottom; legend, CAROLVS II · DEI · GRATIA. There is a legend of 1675 which erroneously reads CRAOLVS. On the reverse are four shields crowned, arranged in the form of a cross, that of England at the top, Scotland on the right, France at the bottom, and Ireland on the left; in the centre are four interlinked C's from which radiate four sceptres. Legend, MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · and the date is divided by the shield at the top. There is no inner circle on either side, and the edge of the five-guineas is inscribed DECVS ET TUTAMEN with the regnal year. This was to prevent the coin being clipped, and the edges of the other denominations were grained. The weight of the guinea was the same originally as that of the hammered unite, namely, $131\frac{29}{41}$ grains, but in 1670 it was reduced to $129\frac{39}{89}$

grains. The gold issues were coined nearly every year after that in which each denomination was first issued, as is shown in Table B

TABLE B.—THE MILLED COINAGE IN GOLD OF CHARLES II.

Date.	Details.	Five Guineas.	Two Guineas.	Guinea.	Half- guinea.
1663	Lovelock, truncation pointed			+	
	Elephant			+	
1664	Lovelock, truncation pointed			+	
	Elephant		×	+	
1665	Lovelock, truncation pointed			+	
	Elephant			+	
1666	Lovelock, truncation pointed			+	
1667	"			+	
1668	"	+		+	
	Elephant	+			
1669	Lovelock, truncation pointed	+			+
	Elephant	+			
1670	Lovelock, truncation pointed	+		+	+
1671	"	+		+	+
1672	"	+		+	+
1673	"	+			
1673	No lovelock, truncation rounded			+	
1674	"			+	+
1675	Lovelock, truncation pointed	+			
	Elephant	+			
1675	No lovelock, truncation rounded		+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	
1676	Lovelock, truncation pointed	+			
	Elephant and castle	+			
1676	No lovelock, truncation rounded		+	+	+
	Elephant and castle		+	+	+
1677	Lovelock, truncation pointed	+			+
	Elephant and castle	+			
1677	No lovelock, truncation rounded		+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	+
1678	Lovelock, truncation pointed				
	Elephant and castle	+			
1678	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	+
1678	No lovelock, truncation rounded			+	
	Elephant				
1679	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	
1680	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	+
1681	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle	+			
1682	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	
	Elephant and castle		+	+	+
1683	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle			+	
1684	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
	Elephant and castle	+	+	+	

The Silver Issues of the Milled Coinage.

The silver coins differ from the gold by having a laureated bust of the king draped in a toga instead of the head. The portrait on these coins, as well as that on Simon's petition crown, was copied from a drawing by Samuel Cooper. On the reverse they differ by the star of the garter, except on those mentioned before with the plume, being in the centre, and two interlinked C's in the angles in place of the sceptres.

The maundy money has on the reverse one C, crowned, for the penny; two C's, interlinked, for the half-groat; three for the threepence; and for the groat, four, with a rose, thistle, lys and harp respectively between the horns of the C's. The crown and half-crown have their edges inscribed like the five-guineas; those of the shilling and sixpence are grained; and those of the maundy pieces are plain. With the exception of the half-crown and shilling all the coins are known to have been struck every year after their introduction; the dates missing being for the half-crown 1665 and 1667, and for the shilling 1664, 1665, and 1667; for no half-crowns nor shillings of those dates respectively are at present known. The dates on the coins are rarely overstruck. The number of strings on the harp vary in different dies, and another thing that varies is the size of the flan. This, one would have supposed, would be constant, but it is not so. Some of the variations are accidental, others are intentional, for the flans for the crowns of 1662 and 1663 are larger than those used after that date.

The coins struck on the various dates will now be taken seriatim:—

1662.—Of this year there are crowns only. There are two obverses, one with a rose beneath the bust, the other without. The question arises, what is the meaning of this rose? When we refer to the reign of Charles I, it is found that the rose was the mint-mark generally present on the coins struck at Exeter during the siege 1642 to 1645, and there is also a half-crown of Bristol of 1644 with a rose below the horse. In 1699 the rose again appears in the angles of the reverse, also on other dates, often in conjunction

with the plume, till 1747, the mark being used to denote that these coins were composed of silver from the West of England. It has therefore been considered that the rose on the crowns before us denotes the same fact. The bearings on the shields on the reverse differ from those given before, for the first and third have the English and French arms quarterly instead of those of England on the first, and of France on the third. The number of strings on the harp of Ireland varies, for some have eight, nine, or ten strings. On the edge some are dated 1662, others are not. The rose type with the dated edge has an eight-stringed harp, whilst the crowns without date have seven or nine strings. The type without the rose when dated has nine strings; without the date, nine or ten strings. Both the crowns with dates on the edge are rare.

1663.—The crown has a similar obverse to that of 1662 without the rose, and the reverse has the usual arrangement of the shields. The edge has the regnal year XV. The half-crown and shilling are similar to the crown. The shilling, which has the edge grained perpendicularly, has different dies for the reverse varying in the number of strings in the harp: one has six and another seven, whilst on one die the Irish arms are placed on the second shield and those of Scotland on the fourth. It is the commonest of all the coins of Charles II.

1664.—The crown and half-crown differ from those of 1663 by having a different bust, with the toga showing more behind the neck.

1665.—The crown only. This is a very rare date. There are two different years on the edge, one XVI and the other XVII.

1666.—The crown and shilling are the same as before, and there is a set of crown, half-crown, and shilling having the elephant under the bust. One of the last has the obverse struck from the guinea die.

1667.—The crown only.

1668.—The crown, half-crown, and shilling. Of the last, one has five strings, another six strings on the harp. The half-groat now appeared.

1669.—The crown, half-crown, and shilling, the last being extremely rare, perhaps unique. From this date the graining on the edge of the shilling is oblique.

1670.—The crown, half-crown, and shilling. There is a half-crown with a peculiar countermark, a large cross fleury struck on the cheek, but no reason can be offered for this. The maundy set, the bust on which is like that on the ordinary shilling, was first struck this year in the milled series.

1671.—There is a crown and a half-crown similar to those of 1670. During this year the bust on the crown was changed somewhat, the principal difference being that the curl from the ear does not drop so near to the brooch of the toga. Mr. W. B. Thorpe has a crown with the earlier bust which reads VICESIMO QUARTO instead of TERTIO. There is no change in the shilling, but the plume now appears on both sides of one. There is also a maundy set.

1672.—A crown, half-crown of which there are two varieties, one as in the previous years and the other with a new bust with a very much larger head, the usual shilling and a maundy set.

1673.—There are a number of varieties. The crown; half-crowns with the large head, the first of them being of the usual type, the second with plume on both sides, and the third, which is a mule between the first and second, having the plume below the bust only on the obverse. These last two varieties are extremely rare, for of the second only two examples are believed to be known, and the third is probably unique. Shillings, of which two are of the usual type and one has the plumes on both sides. Also a maundy set.

1674.—The usual crown, half-crown, and four varieties of the shilling. First of the usual type; second, with plumes on both sides; third, a mule between the two, having plumes on the reverse only; and fourth, with a new head which is very large. The sixpence, which has the bust as on the ordinary shilling, and oblique graining on the edge, was introduced this year. Also the maundy set.

1675.—The crown, half-crown, three varieties of the shilling, namely, of the usual type, with plumes on both sides and large head, the last of which is found struck on large and small flans. The sixpence and the maundy set.

1676.—The crown, half-crown, shillings of the usual type on large and small flans, and with plumes on both sides; sixpence, on which is an altered date; and the maundy set. Of the three-pences one has an altered date, the 6 being struck over the 5; another has the obverse struck with that of the groat.

1677.—The crown, half-crown, shillings of usual type and with plumes on the obverse only, sixpence and the maundy set.

1678.—The crown, half-crown, shilling on a large flan, sixpence, and maundy set.

1679.—The crowns of the usual type and one with a new and larger bust, half-crown, shillings of the usual type, with plumes on both sides struck on large and small flans, and, thirdly, with plumes on the obverse only, sixpence, and maundy set.

1680.—Crowns with both busts as in 1679, half-crown, shillings of the usual type, and with plumes on both sides, sixpence, and maundy set.

1681.—Crowns, half-crowns, and shillings of the usual type, and also with elephant and castle under the bust. The usual shilling was struck on large and small flans. Sixpence and maundy set.

1682.—Crowns with correct and altered dates, and one with QURRTO · on the edge instead of QUARTO. Half-crown, shilling with the usual bust,¹ sixpence and maundy set.

1683.—Crown, half-crown, shillings of the usual type and large head, sixpence struck on large and small flans, and maundy set.

1684.—Crown, half-crown, shilling, sixpence with large head, and the maundy set.

¹ Montagu Catalogue, Lot 797.

TABLE C.—THE MILLED COINAGE IN SILVER OF CHARLES II.

Date	Details.	Crown.	Half-crown.	Shilling.	Six-pence.	Groat.	Three-pence.	Half-groat.	Penny.
1662	Rose; edge dated	×							
"	Rose; not dated	×							
"	No rose; edge dated	×							
"	No rose; not dated	×							
1663		×	×	×					
1664		×	×						
1665		×							
1666		×							
"	Elephant under bust	×	×	×					
1667		×							
1668		×	×	×				×	
1669		×	×	×					
1670		×	×	×		×	×	×	×
1671		×	×	×		×	×	×	×
"	VICESIMO QUARTO on edge ..	T							
"	Plumes			×					
"	Different bust	×							
1672		×	×	×		×	×	×	×
"	Different bust		×						
1673		×	×	×		×	×	×	×
"	Plumes		H	×					
"	Plume; obverse only		H						
1674		H	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plumes			×					
"	Plume; reverse only			×					
"	Large head			×					
1675		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plumes			×					
"	Large head			×					
1676		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plumes			×					
1677		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plume; obverse only			×					
1678		×	H	×	×	×	×	×	×
1679		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plumes			×					
"	Plume; obverse only			×					
"	Last bust	×							
1680		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Plumes			×					
"	Last bust	×							
1681		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Elephant and castle under bust	×	×	×					
1682		×	×	M	×	×	×	×	×
1683		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
"	Large head			×					
1684		×	H	×	×	×	×	×	×

Notes.—× Represented in the author's collection.

H. Mentioned by *Hawkins* as in the British Museum.

M. Montagu Sale, Lot 797.

T. In Mr. W. B. Thorpe's collection.

¹ XVI and XVII on edges.

² One shilling has obverse from the guinea die.

PART III.—THE COPPER COINAGE.

The numismatic history of Charles II is noted for two events, the first being the supersession of the hammer by the mill and screw for the striking of money, the second being the introduction of a just and proper coinage of copper money. Hitherto the farthings permitted to be circulated were poor wretched pieces, varying in weight during the reign of James I from six to four grains, and under Charles I from 14·8 to 8·5 grains. They were not struck in the mint, but by contractors who obtained letters patent, and the farthings so issued are generally known by the names of the patentees, as "Harringtons" and "Richmonds." Owing to their low intrinsic value and inconvenient size there was great difficulty in putting them into circulation, much persuasion having to be used, and they were, further, very easily forged. During the Commonwealth nothing was done officially to meet the want of small copper change beyond the striking of various patterns.

When Charles II came to the throne he found the country flooded by a large number of small local tokens. They were issued by many corporations and tradesmen in all the chief towns and many villages throughout the land. These pieces are prized by genealogists and local historians, and are now known as "seventeenth-century tokens."

On the 14th of December, 1660, Charles granted a patent to Sir Thomas Armstrong, empowering him to coin for the next twenty-one years such a quantity of farthings as might be conveniently issued during that term amongst his Majesty's subjects in Ireland. They were to be made of copper by engines, and to be current only in that country.¹

Obverse.—A large double arched crown with two sceptres in saltire behind it. Legend, CAROLVS II · D · G · M · B ·

Reverse.—Mint-mark, a plume. A crowned female-headed harp. Legend, FRA · ET · HIB · REX · *Montagu*, No. 2. Weight, 25 grains. There are at least two different dies of the obverse varying

¹ *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 2.

as to the position of the sceptres. This farthing was thus similar to those issued by the King's predecessors, only heavier.

Owing to the opposition of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, Armstrong never was able to put any of this money into circulation.

Pattern Halfpennies and Farthings.

It is very evident that Charles, or some influential person for him, was obsessed with the idea of claiming the supremacy on the sea, for in 1662 a pattern was prepared.

Obverse.—Mint-mark lion. A rose, thistle, and harp, each crowned, placed crosswise. Legend, CAROLVS·A·CAROLO·

Reverse.—A ship sailing to the left. Legend, QVATVOR · MARIA · VINDICO · Edge inscribed MONETA · INSTAVRATVR · 1662. There are two other varieties : one has a grained edge, the other is thinner with graining to the edge. *Montagu*, Nos. 14, 16, and 16B. *Montagu* describes two more, 16A and 15. The first has a plain edge, the second has on the edge ISTA·FAMA·PER·ASTHERA · VOLAT. An example in silver with a plain edge is in the National Collection.

In 1665 there were struck pattern halfpennies and farthings, the design on which has lasted with slight variation to the present day.

The halfpenny.—Obverse.—Bust in Roman armour to the left, laureated, the hair short. Legend, CAROLVS·A·CAROLO· Reverse.—Britannia, wholly draped, seated on a globe to the left and leaning on a shield emblazoned with the union of the crosses, having in her right hand an olive branch and in her left a spear ; below, BRITANNIA. Legend, beginning at the bottom, QUATVOR · MARIA · VINDICO. Edge plain. The flans vary, one being larger than the other. It was also struck in silver.

The farthings.—These differ from the halfpennies in having the date under the bust on the obverse. There are two busts, one with short hair as on the halfpenny, the other with long hair, and no stop after CAROLO. The reverse also differs in having Britannia's right leg bare. They were struck in silver and copper. With the

short hair the edges vary on the silver pieces, one being plain, the other grained, and on the copper plain. With the long hair the edges likewise vary, the silver having the same as with the short hair, while on the copper the edge is grained. *Montagu* mentions other metals in which the patterns were struck, namely, gold, tin with a circle of bell metal, and tin with a circle of copper; also that some have the date 1666.

The Duchess of Richmond was the model for Britannia, and the Count de Grammont, in his *Memoirs*, mentions that she was particularly proud of her legs, or, at any rate, the King admired them very much. On one occasion when the Russian Ambassadors paid a visit to Whitehall the conversation turned on the alleged beauty of those of the Russian ladies. The king maintained that no woman ever had such handsome legs as Miss Stewart—afterwards the Duchess—and she, to prove the truth of his Majesty's assertion, with the greatest imaginable ease, immediately showed hers above the knee. This incident probably accounts for the reason of her leg appearing bare on the coin; but the bareness shocked the modesty of Queen Anne, and ever after Britannia has been constrained to show only her toes.

Louis XIV strongly objected to the proud claim to the sea, and the influence he brought to bear prevented these pieces being adopted. However, the idea still remained, for patterns in silver in an intermediate size between the halfpenny and farthing, evidently intended for the latter as the leg is bare, were issued in 1675 and 1676.

The Current Halfpenny and Farthing.

At last, on the 16th of August, 1672, the King's proclamation was issued making a new halfpenny and farthing legal tender for sums less than sixpence. They are similar to the patterns of 1665 which have been described, with the exceptions that on the reverse the date appears below the figure of Britannia; the legend is BRITANNIA · and the edges are plain. On the farthing the bust is that with the short hair, and the date is transferred to the reverse. They were made of pure Swedish copper, and were coined at the

rate of 175 grains to the halfpenny, or $87\frac{1}{2}$ grains to the farthing, thus making a pound of metal avoirdupois equal to twenty pence.

The halfpence bear the dates 1672, 1673, and 1675. There is a silver proof of 1672 and a copper proof of 1673. *Montagu* mentions that there are the corresponding proofs of 1672 and 1673. There are two obverse dies which differ from one another in the position of the tie strings: on the first the top string touches the long stroke of the L of CAROLO, whereas on the second it touches the O. One halfpenny, dated 1673, has the error CRAOLVS instead of CAROLVS.

The farthings disclose more variation, and bear the dates 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676,¹ and 1679. There is also an example in silver dated 1671, and *Montagu* notes the same in copper, both with long and short hair. Those bearing the date 1671 must have been struck in anticipation of the proclamation. Some of 1672 have drapery under the arms, and of 1673 one obverse reads CAROLA · for CAROLO, and another has on the reverse BRITINNIA. There are corresponding dies to those of the halfpenny, as regards the position of the top tie string with the O, whilst another of 1675 has the O placed farther from the L. On the introduction of these moneys the numerous local tokens went out of use.

In 1679 the price of tin was very low, and in consequence of this the King's revenue was reduced by some £12,000 per annum. It was suggested as a remedy that halfpence and farthings should be coined of this metal instead of copper. The proposition was opposed by the mint as a gross cheat upon the nation, and it was urged that they could easily be counterfeited.² However, in 1684 the proposition was approved, and on May the 28th orders were given to prepare the necessary proclamation, and the coins were to be of the same weight as those of copper, namely, twenty pence to the pound avoirdupois. Only farthings of this metal with a copper plug in the centre were coined, and they have the same designs as those

¹ Batty's *Copper Coinage*, No. 541.

² *Ruding*, ii, p. 20.

of copper without the date on the reverse, but are inscribed upon the edge NVMMORVM·FAMVLVS·1684. There are three varieties of this legend. The first, with three mullet stops ; the second, with two ; and the third, with only one. There is one with the edge dated 1685, which must have been due to error in the mint after the succession of James II, for Charles died on the 6th of February, a Charles die being used with a James edge. There is a corresponding error in the James coins of that date, as there is a farthing with an edge dated 1684.

*Irish Copper Coinage.*¹

In 1680 Sir Thomas Armstrong petitioned the King upon his patent for coining farthings for Ireland, which had been granted to him in 1660, stating that he had never been allowed to issue them. This petition was favourably received, and new letters patent dated the 18th of May were granted, empowering him and Colonel George Legge to issue for twenty-one years copper halfpence of the weight of 107 grains for circulation in Ireland.

Obverse, bust to the right, laureated, draped, and hair long. Legend, CAROLVS II·DEI·GRATIA· Reverse, a harp crowned, the crown dividing the date. Legend, MAG·BR·FRA·ET·HIB·REX· They occur of the years 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, and 1684.

A circumstance that may have influenced Charles to grant so readily these letters patent may have been a desire to get rid of certain token halfpence and farthings, known as St. Patrick's money from their bearing the figure of that Saint. Dr. Aquilla Smith considered that they made their appearance between 1673 and 1680, but their origin is most obscure, for their issuer, or even where they were struck, is unknown. They were very popular, and were acknowledged to be current in the Isle of Man in 1678 and 1679, and were later, in 1680, authorised as currency in the State of New Jersey. They are fully described and illustrated by Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A.,

¹ See the paper by Mr. F. Willson Yeates on "The Coinage of Ireland," etc., in this volume, and pp. 183-87 of "The Coinage of Ireland, in Copper, Tin, and Pewter," by Philip Nelson, M.D., F.S.A., *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, pp. 169-264.

in volume i, pp. 184-86, of this *Journal*, but shortly their description is :—

Halfpenny.—Obverse, David playing on a harp, above which is a crown. Legend, FLOREAT REX. Reverse, St. Patrick standing, facing, with a crosier in his left hand and a shamrock in his right, which he holds extended over a group of figures standing about him ; on his left a shield with the arms of Dublin, three castles. Legend, ECCE GREX. Weight, 104-5 grains.

There are different dies. One has FLOREAT to the left of the crown and a star to the right, and another has the crown dividing the word with FLORE to left and AT to the right.

Farthing.—Obverse, same as the halfpenny. Reverse, St. Patrick turned to left, holding a double cross in his left hand, extending his right over reptiles which he is driving away ; on his left a church. Legend, QVIESCAT PLEBS. Weight, 59 grains.

For both the halfpenny and farthing some flans have on the obverse a plug of brass placed so as to receive the impression of the crown on striking, but this has not always been successfully accomplished. A proof in silver of the farthing is known.¹

The popularity of these token-coins may have been due to some extent to their good weight, and as the shield on the reverse of the halfpenny bears the arms of Dublin it is very likely that they were struck in that city.

There remain some patterns in the collection on which this review is based. There are three of the halfpenny size, *Montagu*, No. 1. Obverse, ship sailing to the left, star below. Legend, beginning at the bottom, CAR II·D·G·M·B·FR·ET·HI·REX. Reverse, St. Michael and the dragon, star below. Legend, SOLI·DEO·GLORIA. The first is of copper, the second has an outer ring of brass, and the third is of brass with an outer ring of copper.

Miss Helen Farquhar¹ considers that these were not meant for halfpence, but were merely passes or checks for the admission of applicants to the royal presence to be touched for the King's Evil. It has also been suggested that they were actually touchpieces used by Charles when in Holland, but this is not likely so far as these pieces are concerned, for none of them is pierced.

The last of all is a farthing in silver, *Montagu*, No. 5. Obverse, mint-mark rose, crowned bust of the King to the left, within an inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS II·REX. A mullet on each side of II, and a lozenge after REX. Reverse, mint-mark rose, three interlinked pillars surmounted by a cross, harp, and thistle respectively within an inner circle. Legend, THVS·VNIT·ED·INVINCIBLE·, lozenge stops. This coin must have been issued about 1660, for the reverse is found with another obverse which bears that date.

TABLE D.—THE MILLED COINAGE IN COPPER OF CHARLES II.

Date.	Halfpenny.	Farthing.	
1672	×	×	Copper.
1673	×	×	
1674		×	
1675	×	×	
1676		B	
1679		×	Tin, with copper plug.
1684		×	
1685		×	

Notes.—× Represented in the author's collection.

B. Batty's *Copper Coinage*, Royal Series, p. 744.

¹ See "Royal Charities," by Miss Helen Farquhar, vol. xiii of this *Journal*, pp. 96-163, where these pieces are illustrated and considered in detail.

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ENLARGED PHOTOGRAPH OF IMPRESSION FROM THE DIE OF THE TOUCHPIECE
BEARING THE TITLE IAC 8.

ROYAL CHARITIES.

PART IV.—*Conclusion of* TOUCHPIECES FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

ANNE AND THE STUART PRINCES.

IN the last volume of our *Journal* we studied the vicissitudes of "Healing" between 1685 and 1702—following the busy crowds that flocked to the Court of James II to be touched, and obtained the symbolic token, be it of gold or silver—and also again the disappointed few who asked, but received no help from William and Mary.

Let us now turn to the resumption of the full ceremonial by Anne, whether from policy or from the kindness of heart for which she was renowned.

It may well be that the Queen merely followed the precedent set by her great-grandfather, James I, of whom his biographer and contemporary, Arthur Wilson, wrote that he healed from political motives. "He was King in understanding and was content to have his subjects ignorant in many things: As in curing the *King's Evil* which he knew a device to ingrandize the Vertue of Kings when miracles were in fashion, though he smiled at it, in his own Reason, finding the strength of the Imagination a more powerfull Agent in the Cure than the Plaisters his Chirurgions prescribed for the sore."¹ However this may be, there is no doubt that Anne recommenced healing against her own inclinations. Throughout her reign she expressed a strong dislike to any words implying that her "right" was "Divine." The Duke of Shrewsbury wrote on October 20, 1710, to Robert Harley, saying that on his reading to the Queen an address which was shortly to be presented to her

¹ *The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of James the First*, p. 289, by Arthur Wilson, published in 1653, the year after the author's death.

by the City of London, "she immediately took exception at the expression that her right was Divine, and this morning told me that having thought often of it, she could by no means like it, and thought it so unfit to be given to anybody that she wished it might be left out; if it can be, I find she would like it much better."¹

The address to which Shrewsbury refers was published in the *London Gazette* under date October 23, 1710, and the offending expressions were altered to "We own your Right to be Indefeazable, your Person sacred and your Throne to be Hereditary."

"Nevertheless," says the author of the ninth volume of the *Political History of England*, in referring to this matter, "she continued to touch for the King's Evil."²

Oldmixon, however, imputes Anne's adoption of the popular practice of healing to entirely political motives. "The Wiseones of the party put the Queen up to curing the King's Evil according to the Divine Gift descended on all the Hereditary Kings from the Confessor."³ It is indeed said that Harley⁴ anxiously pressed on Anne the desirability of performing a rite, which her father, as dethroned King of England, had continued to practise throughout the reign of William and Mary. James being now dead and his son uncrowned, Anne might consider herself free from the scruples which may have swayed her sister. Be this as it may, it is certain that Anne, like her great-grandfather James I, did not long persist in a refusal to heal.

There is every reason to suppose that Anne touched from almost the beginning of her reign. The announcements of Healings in the *London Gazette* are by no means infrequent. The earliest I have met

¹ Bath Manuscripts, vol. i, p. 199.

² *Political History of England*, vol. ix, p. 168, by I. S. Leadam.

³ Oldmixon's *History of England during the Reigns of William and Mary, Queen Anne, etc.*, p. 302.

⁴ Robert Harley was Speaker of the House of Commons at the commencement of Anne's reign and did not become a Privy Counsellor until April 27, 1704. He was appointed Secretary of State for the Northern Department on May 18 of the same year and from this time onwards had great influence with the Queen, but it is of course possible that even as Speaker he may have advised the desirability of asserting the "Divine Right."

with notifies, under date March 15, 1702-3, that "Whereas the new Guardchamber, joining to the Banqueting House in Whitehall, is appointed as an Office for Her Majesty's Sergeant Surgeon to examine all Persons who desire to be touched for the King's Evil, Mr. Charles Barnard,¹ her Majesty's Sergeant Surgeon, doth hereby give notice, That he will give his Attendance there and deliver Tickets every Friday at Three in the Afternoon during the time that Her Majesty shall please to touch for the Evil."²

Nevertheless, almost the following number of this official organ complains that "great multitudes of people do daily resort to the Sergeant Surgeon's House in a very disorderly manner to be viewed for the Evil."³

It is then announced that "it is her Majesty's Pleasure that all those who are proper Objects do repair only to the Office appointed at Whitehall for the purpose, where Attendance will be given at convenient times of which Public Notice will be given, Her Majesty having at present thought fit to put off healing for some time."

Probably this order caused disappointment, and the Queen therefore reconsidered the matter, for the Gazette a few days later⁴ informed the Public that Anne would receive the sick. "It is Her Majesty's pleasure that all who have received tickets for the next healing do attend at St. James on Saturday the Third of this instant April by Eleven of the Clock."

Oldmixon describes the Queen as touching at Bath on the 6th of some October, but whether of the year 1702 or 1703 is not clear. In 1702 Anne was in Bath during October, leaving on the 8th⁵ and

¹ Charles Barnard is mentioned as "Chirurgion" to Anne in all the editions of *Angliæ Notitia* published in her reign. See also list of King's Surgeons or Sergeant Surgeons to the Sovereign, in Thomas Pettigrew's "The History of the Barber Surgeons of London," p. 129 of *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. viii, where he is noted as Master of the Company in 1703.

² *The London Gazette*, No. 3896.

³ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1702-3. No. 3898.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 29, April 1, 1703. No. 3901.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1702. No. 3853.

returning on that day to Windsor, but almost the same programme was observed in the following year, the only difference being that she journeyed home on the 7th.¹ The page-heading of Oldmixon is 1703, but he refers to matters such as the publication of Clarendon's history and Sacheverell's "Political Union," two events of the year 1702, in the same paragraph as his disquisition on healing. Our author says that according to "the Publick Prints" a great number of people coming to Bath to be healed, "Her Majesty commanded Thomas Gardener,³ her chief Surgeon to examine them all particularly, which accordingly was done by him, of whom but 30 appear'd to have the Evil, which he certified by Tickets as usual and those 30 were touch'd that day privately by Reason of her Majesty's not having a proper Conveniency for the Solemnity."

Miss Strickland believed that it was during one of the royal visits to Bath that Anne endeavoured to cure Samuel Johnson in 1712, but Dr. Crawford points out that according to Johnson's original manuscript it was in London that he was received by the

¹ *The London Gazette*, 1703. No. 3956.

² Oldmixon's *History of England from the reign of William and Mary to George I*, p. 302. The author apologises for his confusion of dates in grouping his subjects rather than following exact chronology. The publication of Clarendon's first volume to which he alludes was in June, 1702, and Henry Sacheverell's *Political Union* appeared in Oxford in the same year. Oldmixon's reference to Sacheverell seems to have led J. H. Burton and other writers on Anne's reign into the mistaken idea that she did not begin to heal until 1709, the year of the Doctor's famous sermon on non-resistance. See Burton's *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, vol. ii, p. 203.

³ Under William III, Thomas Gardener appears in Mieg's *New State of England* as Surgeon to the Household in 1693, p. 394. Sir D'Arcy Power, in his *Serjeant Surgeons of England*, noted his appointment to this higher office in 1697. See also T. G. Pettigrew's "History of the Barber Surgeons of London," published in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. viii, p. 129, where he is mentioned amongst Sergeant Surgeons elected together with Henry Rossington as joint Masters of the Company of Barber Surgeons in 1695. Turning to the time of Anne, Gardener was in 1702 "Chirurgion to the Household." See *Angliæ Notitia*, p. 516, 20th edition, and the following issue also. In 1707 he retained this position, but is also entered, p. 550, as "Surgeon General to the Land Forces." In 1710, p. 544, we find him in this latter office and "Mr. William Gardener" as Surgeon to the Household.

Queen.¹ We learn that as a child, at the age of thirty months, he was taken to the metropolis by his mother, on the advice of Sir John Floyer, an eminent physician of Lichfield, to obtain Anne's touch, and vaguely remembered her as "a lady in diamonds and a long black hood." It appears that Johnson was himself no great believer in the royal gift of healing, and we know that he did not long wear the token presented by the Queen, for, as we see it in the British Museum, it is in fine condition. Perhaps his mother lost patience on finding little improvement, and as Anne was the last monarch who healed in England, she could not repeat her effort for the cure of the child. Be this as it may, the soft white hand was powerless as regards Johnson; and Boswell, alluding to this failure, told his friend that "his mother had not carried him far enough, she should have taken him to Rome,"² then the residence of the exiled Stuarts.

But our interest in the great lexicographer has carried us far beyond the end of Anne's reign, and there are many other records of her healings, to which we must refer.

Dr. Crawford, under date March 30, 1712, quotes a singularly large attendance at St. James's Palace, when two hundred persons were received by the Queen.³ Usually the receptions were small,

¹ *The King's Evil*, p. 145, quoting a manuscript at Lichfield. This manuscript, "An account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his birth to his eleventh year," was published by R. Philips in 1805, see Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. i, p. 31, note 1. See also quotations from it by Boswell as above, p. 36, and note 1. John Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 502, gives the date of Johnson's healing as March 30, 1714. Mr. Sparrow Simpson, in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xxvii, p. 292, attracts attention to this discrepancy of date and remarks that, if correct, the recollection of the event would be that of a child of 4½ rather than 2½ years. One cannot but think that the early manuscript was unlikely to be incorrect.

² Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. 1826, vol. i, p. 36. Boswell says that scrofula injured Johnson's "visual nerves so much that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other." It seems that it did eventually improve, for Boswell tells us, "There is amongst his prayers one inscribed 'When my eye was restored to its use.'" *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³ *The King's Evil*, p. 144. John Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 502, gives the date of this healing as 1714—but I have personally been unable to find the notice of it in the Gazette of either date. As Nichols believed that this was the

and again we may cite Oldmixon, quoting the newspapers on a certain 19th of December of undated year, but apparently either in 1702 or 1703. "Yesterday," quotes this rather captious historian, who was no believer in healing—"Yesterday about 12 at noon her Majesty was pleased to touch at St. James' about 20 persons afflicted with the King's Evil."¹

I have looked through many copies of the old Gazettes, with faded ink and discoloured paper, to be rewarded now and again with a notice that on such a date the Queen would or would not heal. The collector of the Washington manuscripts concerning the King's Evil, to which collection I have referred in our earlier volumes,² placed amongst his papers five numbers of the *London Gazette* of the year 1705, four of which postpone healings,³ whilst the fifth, under date November 5, 1705, announces that the Queen will resume her kindly ministration. "It being Her Majesty's Royal Pleasure to Heal Weekly for the Evil during the present and succeeding Month till Christmas, and to begin on Wednesday the 14th Instant, it is her Majesty's Command, that all Persons shall be viewed, and Tickets delivered the day before, at the Office in Whitehall, appointed for that purpose, and nowhere else." Then follow the usual regulations about the "Certificates signed and sealed."⁴

Now in these "Publick Prints," as Oldmixon calls the newspapers, the same stress as of old is laid on the tickets, but I have not succeeded in picking out one from the many little medals of the time of Anne which would be specially appropriate to the subject. True it is that at first sight one is tempted to fix upon that somewhat

date of Johnson's healing, and we have noted that this was probably an error, see our p. 145, note 1, I would rather be guided by Dr. Crawford. Anne was, however, in London in March, 1714, and therefore this date is possible. See *London Gazette*, No. 5213. She did, we believe, continue her healing into the last year of her reign.

¹ Oldmixon's *History*, p. 302. Anne was at St. James's the week of the 13th of December in the year 1702 and also in 1703. See *London Gazette*, Nos. 3871 and 3872, and Nos. 3975 and 3976.

² *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 120-21; vol. xiii, pp. 130-31.

³ *London Gazette*, Nos. 4126, 4127 and 4128, May 24 to June 4, 1705; and No. 4185, December 17 to 20, 1705.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 4172, November 1 to November 5, 1705.

inexplicable jetton which bears the words ALL FOR LOVE in the exergue, and represents a beggar, hat in hand, kneeling at the feet of a lady.¹ This inscription, ALL FOR LOVE, might be understood as meaning that the Queen's affection for her people was shown in healing the sick, but the fact that in another version of the same medal the man and woman are both portrayed in court dress, and the male figure no longer kneels, turns us back to the not unnatural explanation of a political squib.² The man is thought to be Louis XIV, suing for peace—at least this is the tentative suggestion offered in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*.

Whatever tickets Anne's Chirurgeon may have used, we have no difficulty in procuring an example of her touchpiece, for it is not very rare. In size it is nearer to the large than to the small healing-piece of Charles II,³ but this bespeaks no great extravagance on the



TOUCHPIECE OF QUEEN ANNE.
Med. Ill., vol. ii, p. 242, No. 28.

part of the Queen, for, in spite of the fourteen-years' respite from "healings," the numbers of patients who presented themselves for Anne's touch did not approach those in the times of her uncle and father.

Nevertheless, in the course of some eleven or twelve years, it is obvious that Anne "touched" a considerable number of persons. Beckett, writing in 1722, not more than eight years after Anne's death, published a letter from a correspondent, whose name he does

¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 416, Nos. 287-288. Horace Walpole, having presumably a rubbed specimen in his cabinet, mistook the man for a woman and believed the medal to represent Queen Anne embracing Mrs. Masham.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 415-16. Nos. 285-286.

³ Those which I have weighed have as a rule varied from about 47 to 49½ grains. That given by Queen Anne to Samuel Johnson turns the scale at 48·7. The Mint specimen weighs only 45 grains; my own examples 45·5 and 47·4 respectively.

not give, laying stress on the kindness and success of Anne in touching. "Can we already forget the Multitudes of Cures whereby among other glorious Things, our late Queen of transcending Excellence signalised herself?"¹ It must be admitted that, crippled with gout, healing must have been extremely painful to Anne, who even at Bath, whither she journeyed for her health, touched the sick. This fact must be advanced in excuse for the tradition that instead of following the precedent set by her sister Queens, Mary I and Elizabeth, and their successors on the throne in pressing the sores,² Anne touched by means of a lodestone.

The Queen, however, was possibly an imitator of an earlier example, set by Henry VIII, in protecting the hand from coming into actual contact with the sore, for it is recorded that he wore a particular ring when healing. In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is a manuscript account of the jewels belonging to Henry VIII at the time of his death,³ and amongst the objects enumerated we read the following: "Item a black vellat wrought bagge gilte ringes, conteynning three ringes . . . whereof one a Rubie that the King ware at the healing of pore folke." We cannot tell, however, whether Henry, who prided himself on his knowledge of medicine as then practised, was not rather actuated by the belief, at that time prevalent, that a ruby protected the wearer from plague, poison and fevers. This is the more likely in that the same bag contained also "a saphire lose with a chayne of gold," and the sapphire was regarded as a preservative against diseases of the skin and blindness, the latter a frequent result of the King's Evil, and this sapphire pendant may also have been worn as a prophylactic when healing. Elizabeth in the time of plague wore a diamond ring suspended from her neck, this stone also being credited with power to protect if worn next the skin. Be this as it may, in the

¹ *A Free and Impartial Enquiry*, p. 5.

² John Evelyn, speaking of Charles II's Healing ceremony on July 6, 1660, said: "Ye King strokes their faces and cheeks with both his hands at once." See *Diary*, ed. 1827, vol. i, p. 151.

³ *List of the Jewelles, plate, stuff, etc., belonging to the late King Henry Eight*, f. 170 b.

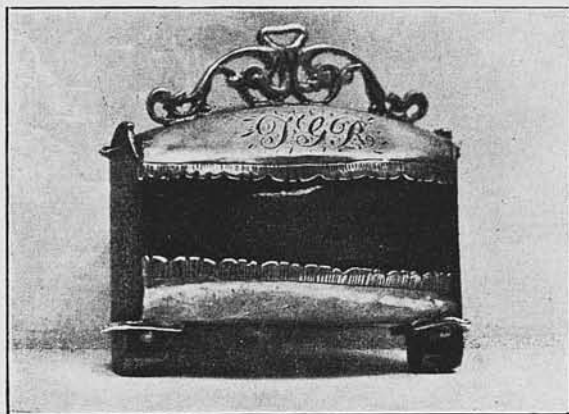
Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, whence I have obtained permission to illustrate it, there is a lodestone¹ stated to have been used by Queen Anne for the purpose of touching sufferers from the King's Evil, in order to prevent her hand coming in actual contact with the sick person. The Queen is said to have had a strong objection to such physical contact which, when suffering from gout in the hands, might cause her acute pain. The stone was in the possession of one "John Rooper, Esqre., of Herhamstead Castle," who held the post of Deputy Cofferer² to the Queen, and has remained in the Rooper family until recently acquired for the Wellcome Museum. It passed from John Rooper to his son, Major Godolphin Rooper, who had it mounted in silver as it now stands, and from him it was handed down to T. Godolphin Rooper, who had his initials engraved upon it. From his sister, Wilhelmina L. Rooper, who inherited it from him, it was acquired with its authentic history certified for the Museum.

¹ There are two such lodestones in the Wellcome Museum, the second being unmounted and no tradition is attached to it, but it resembles in form and size the historical example.

² The office of Cofferer in Royal Households is frequently mentioned from very early times and must not be confounded with the makers of chests who belonged to the Guild of the Cofferers in the Middle Ages. See correspondence in the *Connoisseur*, September and November, 1916, notes. The Cofferer was, says Mr. Landfear Lucas, "next under the controller . . . and his duties are now carried out by the Lord Steward and Paymaster of the Household." I had occasion in our volume xi, p. 263, to mention the Cofferer of Queen Anne to whom application was made connected with the Maundy gifts. The salary in the time of William and Mary of "His Lordship as Cofferer" to Francis, Lord Viscount Newport, afterwards Earl of Bradford, was £100 a year, and £123 14s. 8d. as Treasurer of the Chamber. See list in *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, p. 395, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790. In this list the Cofferer is placed after the Lord Steward and before the Controller. Such duties were often discharged by Deputy. The Cofferer is described under Edward IV as one "whiche takyth in charge all the receytes for the Treasurer of household." See *Ibid.*, p. 50, *Liber Domus Regis Edw. IV*, and under him were all the payments of the Board of Greencloth. In the time of Henry VIII we find mention of the Cofferer's clerk, who had an allowance of 8d. a day for carriage hire. See *Ibid.*, p. 216, *Ordinances at Eltham*. The Cofferer's board wages were 8d. a day, p. 211, and his salary was raised by Henry to £50, p. 213. Queen Anne's Cofferers were, in succession, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Francis Godolphin, and Samuel Masham; John Rooper, as we have seen, acted as Deputy.

That Anne believed her touch would be conveyed through the stone, which she probably held unmounted in her hand, there can be little doubt; possibly she even credited the theory that the touch would be strengthened by the magnetic influence of the stone, and she may have originally used it as a specific for the gout, from which she suffered. Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, Curator of the Wellcome Museum, tells me that mention of the use of the magnet as a cure of disease is found in the works of Aetius,¹ who wrote on medicine in the sixth century, stating that a magnet in the hand will give relief from gout.

Whether it was for this purpose of her own relief that Anne first tried the lodestone, who shall say? Be that as it may, the tradition of its application during the "Healings" is so well substantiated that I avail myself with pleasure of the permission accorded me of placing a photograph of this curious relic before my readers.



LODESTONE OF QUEEN ANNE IN THE COLLECTION OF THE WELLCOME
HISTORICAL MEDICAL MUSEUM.

¹ Aetius, a Greek physician born in Amida, Mesopotamia, flourished at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. He wrote a medical work in sixteen volumes compiled from Galen and other writers. "Superstition and mysticism," says the writer of the notice concerning him in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "play a great part in his remedies." Eight of his books were printed in the original Greek in 1534 at Venice and "a complete Latin translation by Cornarius appeared at Basel, 1542."

In mounting the lodestone care was taken not to stop the magnetic current, which is carried by worked iron damascened with silver, so that it can still be used as a magnet. It was not until 1600,¹ that Dr. Gilbert of Colchester demonstrated, as Mr. Thompson tells me, the magnetic force, but the belief that it was a cure for toothache, headache, convulsions and nervous diseases was prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Paracelsus used it in cases of epilepsy. That magnets were efficacious if applied to the body was held for truth down to the end of the eighteenth century, when the theory was exploited by several practitioners.

During the time of Queen Anne the use of the magnet as a curative power is frequently mentioned by members of the medical profession, and Sir Thomas Browne had written much concerning the lodestone. Let us therefore credit Anne with no great selfishness in refusing the actual contact with the sick, for she probably believed that she rather enhanced than diminished the power with which she was credited by the people. She, moreover, clearly did not herself hold that the healing gift was one which she actually possessed. It is suggested by Miss Strickland,² although without giving any authority, that Anne at first used the ritual of James II, including the invocation to the Virgin Mary, and that the Pope consequently thought she had leanings towards Rome. The authoress considers that the Healing Service was Anne's most efficacious answer to this suggestion. Hence its insertion into the Prayer-book by the Queen, a course which had been occasionally adopted by Charles I and Charles II.

It is by no means impossible that Anne did in truth at first make use of the Healing Service in the vernacular, as published by Hills in 1686, which, as we have seen,³ contained this invocation.

¹ See *De Magne'te*, by William Gilbert, published 1600.

² *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 206. Miss Strickland says: "There are two or three letters in the State Papers Office addressed personally to Queen Anne, written in elegant Italian from the Pope, by the hand of his official, or ordinary, congratulating her in affectionate terms on her conversion to the Roman-Catholic faith. Not any notation of answer is appended to these epistles; they are dated 1706."

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, xiv, p. 103.

Whether purposely to mark the change in the ritual or not, important alterations were made in the service when printed in 1707 in the Book of Common Prayer. More prayers were inserted than had been in use under Charles I and Charles II, and less of the Scripture was to be read; a collect from the Communion service precedes the gospel, and a portion taken from the Office for the Visitation of the Sick was introduced. On the other hand, the patient received his or her medal and the touch of the Queen's hand at a single presentation whilst the officiating priest prayed for God's blessing and the recovery of the person, instead of the double presentation during the recital of two separate gospels. The service is far shorter than that of Henry VII used by James.

Deeming that it may be of interest to our readers to see one of the versions of the ritual practised, I here illustrate the earliest which I have noticed in the Book of Common Prayer, namely a folio volume of Charles I¹ published in 1634. Although not identical in type and spelling, it differs not at all in wording or rubric from two sheets embodying the service, to be found amongst the collection of *Broadsides* in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The latter service is separately printed on one side only of each leaf, and therefore we are clearly not dealing with pages cut from a prayer book. These sheets have been adjudged to be of the time of James I,² and on them Dr. Crawford has based his opinion that James I and Charles I made use of the same ritual. Little change was made by Charles II,³ some slight alteration, however, in the rubric and final benediction may be noticed in the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, issued by him. With regard to republication under Anne, the

¹ *Brit. Mus. Liturgies, Church of England*—Common Prayer 3406, f. 5, where the Healing service is placed between "Godly Prayers" and the "Form and Manner of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." Beckett, in his *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, appendix viii, prints a Form of Healing which he attributes to Charles I and Charles II, but it is that of the latter King.

² Society of Antiquaries, *Broadsides*, vol. i of James I, 1603 to 1622, No. 161. Placed immediately after a form for consecrating Bishops dated 1618, and deemed to be of about the same date.

³ *Brit. Mus.* 3406. c. 2, where the Healing Service is printed between the Communion and the Psalms.

¶ The Gospel written in the 16. of Marke.

Iesus appeared vnto the eleuen as they sate at meat, and cast in their teeth their vnbeliefe and hardnes of heart, because they beleueed not them which had seen that he was risen againe from the dead. And he said vnto them, Goe yee into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creatures: he that beleueth and is baptized, shall bee saued: but he that beleueth not, shall bee damned. And these tokens shall follow them that beleue: In my Name they shall cast out devils, they shall speake with new tongues, they shall drine away serpents, and if they drinke any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: They shall lay their hands on the sicke, and they shall recouer. So then when the Lord had spoken vnto them, he was receiued into heauen, and is on the right hand of God. And they went forth and preached euery where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with miracles following.

Repeate the
same as of-
ten as the
KING
toucheth
the sicke
person.

¶ The Gospel written in the 1. of S. Iohn.

In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in the darkenes, and the darkenes comprehended it not. There was sent from God a man, whose name was Iohn: the same came as a witnes to beare witnes of the Light, that all men through him might beleue. He was not that Light, but was sent to beare witnesse of the Light. That Light was the true Light, which lighteth euery man that commeth into the world. Hee was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. Hee came among his owne, and his owne receiued him not. But as many as receiued him, to them gaue hee power to be made sonnes of God, euen them that beleueed on his Name, which were borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. And the

Repeate the
same as of-
ten as the
KING
putteth the
Angel a-
bout their
necks.

the same Word became flesh, and dwelt among vs, and we saw
the glory of it, as the glory of the onely begotten Sonne of the
Father, full of grace and trueth.

Lord haue mercy vpon vs.
Christ haue mercy vpon vs.
Lord haue mercy vpon vs.

Our Father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy Name,
Thy kingdome come, Thy will bee done in earth, as it is in
heauen, Giue vs this day our dayly bread, And forgine vs
our trespases, as we forgine them that trespasse against vs,
And lead vs not into temptation :

Answer.

But deliuer vs from euill. Amen.

Minister.

O Lord saue thy seruants.

Answer.

Which put their trust in thee.

Minister.

Send vnto them helpe from aboue.

Answer.

And euermore mightily defend them.

Minister.

Helpe vs O God our Saviour.

Answer.

And for the glory of thy Names sake deliuer vs, bee mercifull
vnto vs sinners for thy Names sake.

Minister.

O Lord heare our prayers.

Answer.

And let our cry come vnto thee.

Almighty God the eternall health of all such as put
their trust in thee, heare vs wee beseech thee on the
behalfe of these thy seruants for whom wee call for
thy mercifull helpe, that they receiuing health, may
giue thanks to thee in thy holy Church, through Iesus Christ
our Lord, Amen.

The peace of God which passeth all vnderstanding, keepe
your hearts and minds in the knowledge and loue of God,
and of his Son Iesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing
of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, be
amongst you, and remaine with you alwayes. Amen.

earliest date noted by either Dr. Crawford or myself is that of the year 1707.¹ He found a quarto of that year containing the Healing use in the Lambeth Library and another in the Library of the College of Physicians, printed in 1708.

I find that the British Museum also possesses a copy issued in 1707.²

The edition of 1709 is far more common, and from this Dr. Crawford prints the service.³

We do not find it mentioned in the Table of Contents, but in Anne's Prayer Books it is introduced between the Queen's Accession Service of March 8, 1701-2, and the Articles of Religion. Miss Strickland, who had seen no copy earlier than that of 1709, judged from the Order in Council, under date February, 1703-4, that the Healing Service was included in the Book of Common Prayer at the same time as the above-mentioned Thanksgiving. She grounded her belief on the wording of the order: "Our will and pleasure is that this form of prayer and thanksgiving for the eighth day of March be forthwith printed and published."⁴

Miss Strickland's hypothesis of the early publication seems somewhat inconsistent with her theory that the Pope's letters written in 1706 induced Anne to publish her new version of the Healing Office in vindication of her Protestantism. To me the expression "prayer and thanksgiving" appears to refer to one service only, that of March the 8th.

Curiously enough, although George I discontinued the practice of touching, some of the larger editions of the Book of Common Prayer published during his reign contain the office. It might

¹ Dr. Crawford, in his *King's Evil*, has reproduced all the Healing Services, including the Latin renderings of Parsell's *Liturgia*. The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. xxvii, pp. 282-307, has given a comparative study of several versions.

² Brit. Mus. 3405, e. 15, quarto, London, 1707, printed by Thomas Newcomb.

³ See Brit. Mus. 3052, e.e.e. 14, and *The King's Evil*, pp. 146-148. The folio edition of 1712, Brit. Mus. 3405, g. 8 is more rare, and Mr. Sparrow Simpson remarks that although he was informed that it contained the Healing Service, he had not himself met with it.

⁴ *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 240.

easily, without exciting our surprise, have been retained, as it was, in 1715,¹ for it would be thought likely that the service, identical with that used by Anne, would be required by her successor. But, following the edition of 1715, we may still find the Healing use in the Oxford Quarto of 1719, after the Accession Service of August 1st and before the Articles on Religion,² the Prayer Book and Bible being bound together as before. This, moreover, is not all, for it reappears in the large folio Prayer Book, printed at Oxford by John Baskett in 1721,³ which was bound contemporaneously with a Holy Bible dated 1723; whilst reverting to the quarto form, with a Bible bearing date 1732, it still takes its place between the Accession Service and the Thirty-Nine Articles. This quarto Prayer Book of 1732, although published five years after the death of George I, contains the service of thanksgiving for his accession on August 1, 1714, ordered in 1715, and the younger George is mentioned in the prayers for the Royal Family as Prince of Wales. From these facts it is clear that the whole must have been a direct reprint from the quarto edition of 1719,⁴ with alteration of date only, and the inclusion of the Healing Service was probably due to carelessness. This is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the last time that it was printed in the Book of Common Prayer in English, but we can trace it yet further in Latin Service books. The *Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium* issued by

¹ Brit. Mus. 338, d. 1, 1715. This quarto Prayer Book is bound with a Holy Bible of the same date.

² Brit. Mus. 1411, i. 5, 1-3, 1719.

³ Brit. Mus. 344 a. 2, 1-3, and 3053 i. 8, 1-2.

⁴ I have not been able to collate the two, line by line, as the British Museum contains no copy of the 1732 edition. I have, however, seen two copies of this rare book at Coker Court, from which I took careful notes and have obtained particulars of that in the Bodleian Library, and it appears that it is an absolute reprint from the edition of 1719. The Book of Common Prayer of 1721 is, so far as I can ascertain, the last time the Healing Service was included in a folio edition, whilst as regards the quarto, with the exception of the Rev. J. H. Blount, writers on the Book of Common Prayer do not appear to have noticed the inclusion of the Healing Service so late as 1732. It was not included in the slightly smaller quarto Prayer Book and Bible bound together, Brit. Mus. 3035, b. 11, in 1728, a fact which might account for this general oversight.

Thomas Parsell, Master of Merchant Taylors' School, still brings the "Forma Strumosos Attrectandi" to our notice in 1759, and for what purpose, who shall say?

Parsell first published his version of the Book of Common Prayer in 1706, but without the Healing Office, and an earlier edition by another translator¹ had not contained it. In the subsequent editions, after Anne had inserted this service in her English Prayer Book in 1707, we find it in Parsell's Latin version in 1713, 1720, 1727, 1733, 1744, and 1759. The example last mentioned, Brit. Mus. 3408 b. 32, has hitherto passed unnoticed, the edition of 1744, Brit. Mus. 745 a. 3, being usually cited as the latest appearance of the ritual in a Book of Common Prayer in Latin. Parsell's manual adheres strictly to the Anglican rites and cannot have been designed for the use of the exiled Stuarts; for although Charles Edward's declaration of Protestantism might account for the final appearance in 1759,² the uninterrupted inclusion of a service so long disused seems curious. A slight difference in the translation into Latin is noticeable as printed in parallel columns by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*³ between the service of Anne in the edition of 1713 and that intended for, although unused by, the King regnant in 1727.

It appears that the collator was unacquainted with Parsell's edition of 1720, which, as I have ascertained, reads the same as the rendering of 1727—but this is a matter of small importance, and the

¹ See Durel's *Liturgia seu Liber Precum Communium* 1703. Brit. Mus. 3408, a.a.a.a. 35.

² In 1759 Charles himself declared that he had joined the Church of England nine years previously, *i.e.* in 1750. See Andrew Lang's *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 242. But it was, as Miss Shield points out after exhaustive enquiry, in her *King over the Water*, p. 446, not until 1752 that the news reached France and Rome. Hume's assertion that the change of creed was made in 1753 was no doubt based on a conversation held in that year between Charles and Archibald Cameron, the latter making a statement in the June of 1753 that "the Prince bade him tell the Party that he was a member of the Church of England." See Lang, as above, p. 248.

³ *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xxvii, 1871, pp. 282-307. "Forms of Prayer recited at the Healing or Touching for the King's Evil," and Dr. Crawford's *King's Evil*, pp. 150-152.

fact remains that the Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School thought it worth while to translate afresh an office no longer in use after the death of Anne.

In the edition of Parsell's *Liturgia* of 1713 at the British Museum, a curious little side-light is thrown on the fact that Anne continued her healings at least until the date of publication of this particular volume.

A manuscript note in the margin of the Healing Service runs : " Geo. Bp. Lincoln Thursday," meaning that George, a pupil in the Merchant Taylors' School, was to be taken by Bishop Wake, Deputy Clerk of the Closet in 1689, and Bishop of Lincoln in 1705, to be healed on some Thursday in 1713¹ or 1714, that is, between the publication of the book and the Queen's death.

Anne was noted for beneficence and piety, and it is interesting to learn from a manuscript account-book entitled *Queen Anne's Establishment*,² in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, that the expense of her chapels at Whitehall and St. James, including the " wages and Board wages " of those officiating there, came to £3260 18s. 4d. a year. On her accession she ordered that Doctors John Younger, William Graham and Samuel Pratt should " remain our Chaplains and attend as Clerk of our Closet in ye sevⁿ Waitings " at a fee of £6 18s.³ Throughout the reign of Anne the office was held in commission, although we learn from Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* that the usual custom, revived by George I on her death, had been to have but one Clerk of the Closet at a fee of 20 nobles

¹ William Wake held the Office of Royal Almoner until January, 1715-16, when he was translated to Canterbury.

² MS. *Queen Anne's Establishment*, pp. 19 and 20.

³ Dr. John Younger and Dr. William Graham, Dean of Carlisle, are mentioned in Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia or Present State of England*, as Chaplains to Princess Anne in 1700, at which time Mr. Charles Lucas was her Closet Keeper. Samuel Pratt, also chaplain to Anne before her accession, was sub-preceptor to her son, the little Duke of Gloucester, under Gilbert Burnet, and was in 1706 made Dean of Rochester. Chamberlayne in 1702, 1704, 1707, 1708 and 1710 gives these clerics as holding the office of Clerk of the Closet in common, whilst the next edition in 1716 returns to the usual form, George I appointing one Clerk of the Closet only—see 24th ed., p. 551.

a year. This official was described in the days of Charles and James, as "commonly some Reverend discreet Divine extraordinarily esteemed by his Majesty, whose office is to attend at the King's right hand during Divine Service to resolve all Doubts concerning Spiritual Matters, to wait on his Majesty in his private Oratory or Closet."¹

We have seen that this post was held successively by Dr. Earle,² Dr. Blandford and Dr. Crew under Charles II—by Crew and Sprat under James II until he preferred the services of his own confessor, Father Petre.

The appointment of the latter is not noticed by Chamberlayne, for the compiler of this guide to "the Present State of England" only printed his volumes at irregular intervals, two editions appearing sometimes in the twelve months, followed by a gap of two or more years. The issue of 1687 gives Sprat as the holder of the office, and the succeeding edition in 1691 enters the name of John Tillotson³ as Clerk of the Closet to William III. *Angliæ Notitia* in 1692, on p. 110, leaves a blank space where both Clerk and Keeper of the Closet should be mentioned, filled in on a subsequent page, 171, with the name of William Wake.⁴ In 1694 we have Thomas Burnet,⁵ Master of the Charterhouse, serving King William, and Dr. William Stanley⁶ attending Queen Mary as Clerk, a post the latter appears

¹ *Angliæ Notitia*, 1684, p. 146, and 1687, p. 138.

² For Earle, see our vol. xiii, p. 101, note 4, and for Crew and Sprat, see vol. xiv, pp. 91, 106-8.

³ Dr. John Tillotson, who had in 1672 been chosen Dean of Canterbury by Charles II, was made Clerk of the Closet by William in March, 1689, in which year he was given the deanery of St. Paul's. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in May, 1691, and died in 1694.

⁴ William Wake was Deputy Clerk of the Closet from the time of William III's accession. He held various preferments, being consecrated Bishop and finally Archbishop in the two subsequent reigns. See note 1 on p. 156.

⁵ Thomas Burnet, 1635?-1715, made Master of the Charterhouse in 1685, became, after the Revolution, Chaplain in Ordinary to William and his Clerk of the Closet, but was never promoted to a see. He died at Charterhouse September 27, 1715.

⁶ William Stanley, 1647-1731, Archdeacon of London, was made Dean of St. Asaph's by Anne in 1706. He was Chaplain to Mary as Princess of Orange. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mary gave him on her accession £200 a year as Clerk of the Closet, a fee usually reserved for the Dean of the Chapel.

as holding already in 1692 at a salary of £6 13s. 4d. Donkley, who was Keeper of the Closet to Charles and James, received, according to the Treasury Papers of the former King's reign, £8 per annum,¹ but Chamberlayne sets down the fee at £5 yearly, and this sum is corroborated by the accounts of Anne. This Queen gave her Closet Keeper, one Gilbert Thornburgh, who had filled this post under William III, £5 wages and £36 10s. board wages at Whitehall, whilst the board of the Keeper of the Closet at St. James' is set down at £45. These officials of course attended Anne when healing.

The Queen died on August 1, 1714, and after this date we find the rite carried forward by the exiled Stuarts, but not by the Hanoverian succession. Anne's gold touchpiece therefore is the last that we may look for in that metal, with the exception of a pattern made for her half-brother under the title of "James III."

I have failed to find any financial information which would determine either the name of the maker of Anne's healing-pieces, or the number that were struck. Probably the engraver of the dies would be Croker, for the lettering with the square topped A agrees with the coinage, but although, on account of the increased size, fresh dies must have been made, the puncheons both of the ship and the angel appear to be the same as had been employed for the gold specimens under the Queen's father. I speak with hesitation, for all touchpieces are worn and it is difficult to be certain excepting with regard to the measurements. The payment for touchpieces continued to be made to the Keeper of the Privy Purse, a post held by women in the reign of Anne, firstly by the Duchess of Marlborough and afterwards by Abigail Masham.² In the name of the latter runs a warrant, which I noticed in Messrs. Christie's

¹ On November 17, 1670, Donkley's wages, at £8 yearly, were stated, see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. iii, p. 688, November 17, 1670, as due, four years amounting to £230. The Calendarer has written "*sic*" after "£8 per an" and although it was specified that "183l. 10s. 6d. more" was owing for journey money and expenses, we must agree that no arithmetic can explain this sum correctly.

² Abigail Hill, bedchamber woman to the Queen, married Samuel Masham in 1707. She became Keeper of the Privy Purse in succession to the Duchess of Marlborough in 1711, and in January, 1711-12, her husband was created Baron Masham. He was in May, 1711, made Cofferer of the Queen's Household.

Red Cross sale in 1915.¹ It is countersigned by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, under date January 8, 1712-3, and authorizes the payment of £26,000 "for the service of our Privy Purse and for Healing Medals." Sarah Marlborough, in her vindication of herself, states that the allowance of £20,000 was augmented to £26,000 two years after she left office.² She had resigned in January, 1710-11; this warrant is therefore for the first payment after the sum set apart for private expenditure was increased, but we must remember that such warrants supply no definite information, for the Duchess tells us that these Privy-Purse expenses included not only "healing gold and charities," but "many pensions were paid out of it,"³ and the Queen's personal wants had also, as we know, to be provided.

It is interesting to find that after the death of Anne, when the royal touch was no longer available, unless the sick persons were prepared to resort to the exiled Stuarts, the belief revived in the efficacy of the touchpiece as itself a cure. Edmund Betts, writing under date March 1, 1714-15, recorded that his mother "lent Coz. Mary Betts ye piece of toucht gold with Britaine and this motto on one side Gloria Soli Deo and on the other ye ship with this motto ANNA · D : G : M : BR : F : ET · H · REG : Received it back 28 June, 1715."⁴ "Ye piece of toucht gold," continues the biographer of the Betts family, "without the personal healing touch however failed to cure Coz Mary Betts; her death coincided with its return on 28th of June, 1715."

We find in the *History of the Rebellion*, by Robert Chambers, a story of George I's attitude towards healing. It is said that a partisan of the Hanoverian succession brought his son to the new King and asked that he might be touched; George told him to "Go over to the Pretender," and the father of the sick child changed his politics on the satisfactory cure performed by the son of James II.⁵

¹ Monday, April 26, 1915, lot 1516.

² *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 282.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴ *The Betts of Wortham in Suffolk*, by Katharine Doughty, p. 167.

⁵ *History of the Rebellion in Scotland* in 1745 and 1746, published in 1827, vol. i, p. 183, being vol. xv of *Constable's Miscellany*.

William Whiston, who in his *Memoirs* prints Anne's service for healing, and discourses at some length on a subject which was, in the middle of the eighteenth century, under considerable discussion,¹ records his opinion that George I never touched: "I think," writes Whiston, "neither King William, Queen Mary, nor George the First or Second ever done it, while yet I suppose they might have done it with the like Success as our former Kings."²

There were, however, still believers in the royal touch, when George II was upon the British throne, and amongst writers like Thomas Hearne, who had no sympathy with the Hanoverian party, we may find without surprise allusions to the successful healing of the past. Hearne,³ writing under date August 3, 1723, shows that amongst friends such topics were freely discussed. He tells of his meeting with one "Mr. Gilman," "a lusty, heartish, thick, short man," who told him that he was "in the 85th year of his age and that at the restoration of K Charles II being much afflicted with the king's evil he rode up to London behind his father, was touched on a Wednesday morning by that king, was in very good condition by that night." Neither was this all, for "by the Sunday night immediately following" he was "perfectly recovered and hath continued so ever since." Hearne ends by telling us that "he hath constantly worn the piece of gold about his neck, that he received of the king, and he had it on yesterday when I met him."

As regards George II, of the same mind as Whiston was William III's former Physician, Sir Richard Blackmore, who believed cures to be "the Strength and Power of Imagination," for writing in 1735, he said: "It is a mark of wisdom in William III of gracious Memory and his present Majesty, that conscious of the Vanity of this Power of healing the Evil, pretended to be annex'd to the Crown,

¹ The publication in 1747, by Thomas Carte, of a note on healing in connection with the coronation unction in the first volume of his *History of England* gave rise to this controversy.

² *Life and Writings of William Whiston*, part ii, p. 442, under date February, 1747-8.

³ *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, published 1857, by Thomas Bliss, vol. ii, p. 680.

they never regarded or practis'd that superstitious and insignificant Ceremony."¹

THE STUART PRINCES.

But the collector of touchpieces need hardly be told, like the father in the preceding story, to turn from George I to his rival in order to be rewarded in his search.

Let us see what light can be thrown on the healing-pieces bearing the title IAC · 3 · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX² or the variety with Arabic numeral 8 instead of 3,³ and the later type made in Rome, reading IAC · III · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · R.⁴ The first thing which strikes us is that young James, like his father, kept the French title, although at the moment it was only by the courtesy of Louis XIV that he assumed the kingly designation at all.

On James II's death in September, 1701, the King of France had promised to declare Prince James King of Great Britain, and, against the advice of his ministers, he kept his word two days later. The Prince was thirteen years old, too young to take active measures towards regaining the throne, and the earliest medal we have asserting his pretensions is of the year 1704.⁵

We have no absolute evidence showing that James as a child demonstrated his claims to healing, but the Reverend John Blount, in his annotated Prayer-book, records that the "power of the touching was exercised by the son of James II as James III in the hospitals of Paris."⁶

If this be so it must probably have been before the Treaty of Utrecht had provided for his removal in 1713 from France, a situation which resulted in a prolonged visit to Bar-le-Duc as the guest of the

¹ *Treatise of the King's Evil*. Preface, pp. lx and lxviii. Blackmore was Physician to William III and his name is still printed in Chamberlayne's first issue after the King's death, namely in 1702, but not in the next edition of 1704.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 315, No. 139.

³ In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Wigmore Street. I am not aware of any other specimen.

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 316, No. 140.

⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 270, No. 71. There is another medal commemorating his succession to his father's title on the latter's death in 1701. See *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 216, No. 540, but it was not designed until 1712.

⁶ *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, by J. H. Blount, published 1866.

Duke of Lorraine.¹ Even before this time his service with the army in Flanders with the French troops had restricted his periods of residence at St. Germain, his health, moreover, was very bad, and when Mr. Blount speaks of Paris one cannot help thinking that these healings were held probably before his first expedition to Scotland, that of March, 1707-8, or shortly after its failure.

The young Prince did not stay openly in the French capital after his return from his unsuccessful invasion of Scotland in 1715-16, making but a hasty and secret visit to his mother at St. Germain, and therefore this tradition of the Paris hospitals must, at the latest, have reference to "healings" before he set out on the second effort at regaining his late father's crown. This would imply that the touchpiece with the Arabic numeral 3 preceded that marked by the figure 8, which must of course have been designed purposely for the northern venture, just as the coinage with the English title preceded that with the Scottish.

The third place must be assigned to the Italian example with Roman lettering reading IAC . III, for this must have been made after James had left France and have been struck after the failure of the Scottish expedition in 1715-16 and his subsequent residence at Avignon. Most probably it was not required before October, 1719, when he finally settled down in Rome, after various short sojourns there and in other Italian towns.

In 1715-16 part of the equipment for the expedition required by the young Prince in his effort to regain the British crown consisted of dies for a projected coinage, but as the appointment of the Roettiers as engravers to the Stuart court in France, originally conferred by James II, was confirmed in the name of this monarch's son in 1703,²

¹ It is to be regretted that in a correspondence concerning healing in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. vii, Mr. W. Frazer states that he has lost certain notes which he made respecting touching for the evil by Prince James in France, and he consequently gives no dates. James visited France in 1714 on hearing of the death of Anne, and again in 1715 and 1716, but only secretly.

² *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 109, and Entry Book 3, f. lxxviii, Note of renewal to John and Norbert Roettiers, June 6, 1703, of the original patent conferred on John Roettiers and his two sons James and Norbert. Also to Joseph and Norbert, f. lxxix, the latter grant being revived in favour of Norbert alone, May 6, 1710.

we have no proof that the dies for the earliest touchpiece were not engraved before those for any of the coins, including the pattern piece of 1709.



CROWN, "IACOBVS III, 1709."

The English title IACOBVS III. was used on the dies prepared by Norbert Roettiers in 1709 according to orders issued in 1708¹ for an intended currency, but only one example, a silver crown now in the British Museum, was actually struck, so far as we are aware. The identical bust, but with altered legend, IACOBVS. VIII. was utilized on crowns intended in 1716 for use in the second expedition directed against the Northern Kingdom, where James would be the eighth king of that name.² The English pattern crown, then, bearing the numeral III is the earlier.



CROWN, "IACOBVS VIII, 1716."

¹ MS. Stuart Papers, Entry Book 4, p. 81, noted in *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 223. See also *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 248. "Patterns and Medals bearing the Legend 'JACOBUS III,' or 'JACOBUS VIII,'" by Helen Farquhar.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62.

For this there are two finished puncheons and one die for the obverse, and also one unfinished puncheon of the arms for the reverse, amongst the collection of the Roettiers' dies presented by Matthew Young to the British Museum in 1828.¹ No die for the touchpiece bearing the title IAC. 3 is in this collection,² neither is it mentioned in the order for coinage under date May 4, 1708, but it may nevertheless have been made before this date, although Mrs. Norbert Roettiers apart from medals mentions only crowns, half-crowns and guineas in the list of the dies in her keeping in 1728, shortly after her husband's death.³ Neither does she in this document allude to the die for the touchpiece of the Scottish series, and yet in Matthew Young's collection we find not only a completed obverse die, but a punch for the hull of the ship intended for this Scottish touchpiece of the younger James.



UNFINISHED PUNCHEON FOR THE SHIP.

Careful comparison of a matrix made from this punch with five or six examples of the smaller of James II's two silver touchpieces, and with the die engraved IAC. 8. brings us to the conclusion

¹ General George Hamilton wrote to James from Paris in February, 1715-16, when the Prince was on his retreat, and said that he was sending him a pattern of the new coinage then being designed for Scotland by Roettiers and also "a crown designed for the English coin of 1709"—whether this be the solitary specimen now in the British Museum, is not known. See *Calendar of Stuart Papers*, vol. i, p. 502.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 248. "Patterns and Medals," etc. Also "Concerning some Roettiers Dies," by Helen Farquhar, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xvii, p. 150.

³ In *Medallic Illustrations* it is stated that the obverse die is in the Museum—this is wrong, the die being confused with the variety with the 8 instead of the 3, and Dr. Parkes-Weber, writing to *The Lancet* on June 27, 1914, fell into the natural error of repeating this assertion. He suggested that the engraver of the rarer piece with the 8 made a mistake. Dr. Crawford, in reply—*Lancet*, July 4, 1914, called attention to the likelihood "that it was struck for use in Scotland perhaps during the 1715 campaign."

that the punch was made for the younger James and not for his father. The differences although minute are decided. But the unfinished punch fits exactly the die bearing the Scottish titles as "James VIII," which in its turn shows some slight disparities of



DIE OF "IAC. 8."

engraving when compared with his ordinary touchpieces bearing "James 3."¹ It must be noted that an alteration from the Arabic 3 to the number 8 might easily have been made, but the touchpieces show no signs of altered dies and are not line for line the same. It is, however, possible that the same punch was used in making the new die with the figure 3, the alterations applying to details outside the compass of the punch. Unfortunately, the only known complete specimen bearing the figure 8 is somewhat worn, but the numeral is quite legible,² and the die in the British Museum is in perfect condition. I have caused an enlarged photograph to be made from this die for our frontispiece.

I think we may safely assume that this touchpiece distinguished by the Scottish titles was contemporaneous with the coinage designed in 1716³ for the second invasion.

The crown and other pieces bearing the title IACOBVS VIII. are only known to us through Matthew Young's restrikes, and the dies now in the Museum. Some of these, I cannot help thinking, Young mistakenly combined with medal dies, but we are fortunate

¹ The list is in the Stuart Manuscripts at Windsor Castle. The medal dies formed the subject of a correspondence after the death of Norbert Roettiers in 1727, between his widow and Prince James. See *Ibid.*, "Concerning some Roettiers Dies," p. 126.

² In the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

³ James arrived in Scotland on January 8, 1715-6, and only retired to France on the 10th of the following February, leaving the port of Montrose on board a French vessel on the 4th. The coins made in France, and for use in Scotland, naturally bore the date according to new style, 1716.

in having in the Wellcome Museum this isolated, but contemporaneously struck, example of the touchpiece, a specimen which has clearly been worn and rubbed by suspension from the neck of the patient.

Can this be taken as evidence that James really touched for the Evil in Scotland?

Yes. Miss Shield and the late Mr. Andrew Lang, in *The King over the Water*, have supplied the following contemporary evidence that James, when in Forfarshire in 1716, was looked upon as a successful healer, "Had not his very looks showed him to be a King, he had proved his claim by touching for the King's Evil, while at Strathmore's own house [Glamis Castle], for all the patients recovered."¹ Thus writes Miss Shield, epitomising the account given by Thomas Hearne, the Antiquary, in his diary, written at Oxford under date December 2nd, 1716. He reported a conversation he had just held with young Lord Strathmore, who had been the host of James at Glamis in the previous January, and whose description of the Prince is well worth quoting in full. Hearne noted from what Strathmore told him "that the king lay at his house and that he is very pious and cheerful, of great and uncommon understanding. He said the king was a very fine gentleman and a lover of dancing. He said the king touched many for the evil in his lordship's own house and that they recovered."²



TOUCHPIECE BEARING THE LEGEND IAC. 3.

The touchpiece with the legend IAC. 3. is rare, sufficiently so to have been unrepresented in the Sisley collection, containing thirty-five pieces, and Mr. Baldwin tells me that he remembers

¹ *The King over the Water*, by Alice Shield and Andrew Lang, p. 247.

² *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, 1857, vol. i, p. 367.

having seen but very few specimens—nevertheless we have enough of them to show that some demand was made of the powers of James as a healer. Thomas Carte, the historian and intimate friend of Norbert Roettiers, the maker of the touchpiece, records the cure of a labouring man, one Christopher Lovel. This sufferer from the King's Evil started in August, 1716, for the Court of Prince James, and returned to Bristol in the beginning of the following January, having in November obtained the assistance of "the eldest lineal descendant," writes Carte, "of a race of Kings, who had indeed, for a long succession of ages, cured that distemper by the royal touch."¹

Carte states that the Prince "had not, at least at that time, been either crowned or anointed."

This seems indicative that the historian did not believe the coronation to have taken place at Perth, a point on which writers still differ. But it is clear that the healing was performed in "the beginning of November," 1716, at Avignon, although the town is not named, Carte merely saying that the man "made his way first to Paris and then to the place where he was touched."

The dates supplied, however, make this place easy of identification in that James remained at Avignon from April until the following February. Sad to relate, according to subsequent report, Christopher Lovel relapsed and died of the same disease on his way to seek a second "healing" at the hands of the Prince.²

Carte writes that "the man was touched and invested with the narrow ruband to which a small piece of silver was pended, according

¹ Carte's *History of England*, vol. i, pp. 291-2. The story of Christopher Lovel gave so much offence to the Corporation of London that they withdrew their yearly subscription of £50 towards the expenses of Carte's *History*. He explained that the unlucky note concerning Lovel was inserted to prove that the cure was not necessarily dependent on the Coronation unction and that he intended no political offence. See Whiston's *Memoirs*, part ii, pp. 438-41, reproducing Carte's letter to the *General Evening Post*, February 20-23, 1747-8, and other correspondence of January 7-16. See also Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 497. This writer gives a long account of Healing, pp. 495-504, as a note to his Life of Carte.

² See *The King's Evil*, p. 157. See also Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, pp. 495-504.

to the rites prescribed in the office appointed by the church for that solemnity." This small piece of silver must have been either the healing-piece bearing the legend IAC. 3. or, as James had just returned from Scotland, he may have used one of the touchpieces designed for the expedition thither, namely the medalet with the numeral 8, such as he must have bestowed at Glamis.

It is quite possible that James touched also for the Evil in Perth, where preparations were made for his coronation, the day being fixed for February the 3rd, 1716, new style.

Whether the ceremony was ever performed is doubted by the majority of historians, amongst whom, as we have seen, was Carte. According, however, to the careful researches of Martin Haile, James was crowned, but the coronation was "a scant and hurried ceremony shorn of all splendour, although many of the great ladies of Scotland lent their diamonds to adorn the crown."¹ On what occasion later than this of the visit to the North, Carte can possibly have thought a coronation could have been attempted, it is hard to say, but his "at least not at that time," when speaking of the November of 1716, is somewhat ambiguous. From this time forth the Prince's hopes were small and we need hardly discuss the possibilities of the Spanish and other expeditions. All efforts to regain the crown failed.

Louis XIV was dead; Louis XV was a child: his guardians were not inclined to renew the contest, and the titular king became

¹ *James Francis Edward*, by Martin Haile, p. 210. This writer, a most trustworthy historian, believes that the coronation actually took place, and tells us that some years later the Bishop of Rochester refers in a letter to the anniversary "of your Majesty's Coronation." Most authorities, however, hold that no coronation ceremony was performed, the day fixed being that on which the abandonment of Perth was decided. Mr. T. F. Henderson, author of *The Royal Stuarts*, published in 1914, one of the latest writers on this dynasty, states, p. 474, that he has found "no record of it." Amongst the preparations for the coronation, the Earl of Mar, under date, Perth, January 15, 1715-16, speaks in one of his letters of ordering "a crown in pieces at Edinburgh and bringing it over here to be put together . . . in case there be occasion for it here, as I wish there may; bullion gold is what I'm afraid will be wanting, but it will not take much." See Thomson's *Memoirs of Jacobites*, vol. i, p. 157.

a burden. We need not follow James to Commercy and Chalons, whence he made his way to Avignon, then a Papal city, where he stayed some months, for I find no record of healing at either of the first-named places, and the story of the adventures of Lovel at Avignon have already been recorded at some length as above by Carte.

At this temporary refuge his Jacobite court, numbering 150 persons, included ten doctors and chirurgeons, two Protestant chaplains and two Catholic priests,¹ so no difficulty would have stood in the way of a full ceremonial. By the middle of February, 1716-17, James was in Italy, and there he lived during most of his remaining years, for it was nearly half a century later when he peacefully expired in Rome on January 1, 1765-6. Under date "Rome, January 5, 1751"—Edgar, Secretary to James, writes to the Abbess of the Benedictines at Ypres, a letter which shows that whilst the titular king did not revive the ancient custom of blessing "cramp rings" as a remedy for epilepsy, he within the last fifteen years of his life practised healing. "Madam," writes Edgar, "I have the honour to send Your La^p here inclosed the King's answer to the letter you sent me in yours of the 7th Decem^r, which I layd before H.M. who was pleased to tell me upon the question you ask me, that he never blessed Rings on Good Friday, nor any rings at all at any other time as far as he remembers . . . I cannot but here tell Your La^p that as the King touches often for The Evil, he blesses little Silver Medals, which fastened in a Ribon he puts upon the touched person's neck, but these medals are never employed but for The Evil only."² In Italy he undoubtedly held public healings, and judging from the fact that the Italian medalet,³ distinguished by Roman instead of Arabic figures, is not uncommon, he must have touched frequently, and we have a record of the service he used.³

¹ *James Francis Edward*, by Martin Haile, p. 223.

² *The Irish Dames of Ypres*, by the Rev. Dom Patrick Nolan, O.S.B., published 1908.

³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 316, No. 140.

The archives of Lucca tell of his visit to the Baths in 1722, and of his touching for the King's Evil every Thursday. Under date August 1 an Italian document states that "the King knelt



TOUCHPIECE BEARING THE LEGEND IAC. III.

on a cushion, and the assistants, including the children of both sexes, who were to be touched, on the ground. The King's Confessor an Irish Dominican . . . wearing cotta and stole recited certain prayers, to which His Majesty responded. The priest then read the Gospel of Christ's ordering his disciples to go and teach all nations, and when he came to the words 'Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt' one of the King's aides-de-camp led the children one by one to his Majesty, who was now seated, and who laid his hand upon each, the priest meanwhile repeating 'Super egros, etc.' The King then knelt and recited certain prayers, after which resuming his seat, he hung a silver medal, bearing St. Edward on one side and three ships on the other, round the neck of each child. The King performed the ceremony in a saintly manner with great devoutness and recollection of mind."¹

The description of the touchpiece is not very convincing, but for St. Edward we must substitute St. Michael and reduce the three ships to one—probably the Italian writer meant a three-masted ship.

This touchpiece² which bears the legend IAC·III·D·G·M·B·F·ET·H·R· is probably the work of Ottone Hamerani, medallist to the Papal Court. He worked much for James from 1719 onwards.

¹ *James Francis Edward the old Chevalier*, pp. 290–91, by Martin Haile, quoting the Archives of Lucca, Doc. N. VI., F. Acton.

² *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 316, No. 140. These touchpieces are considerably heavier than their predecessors and vary from about 45 to 62 grains, whilst the earlier type by Norbert Roettiers does not weigh more than 23 to 26 grains.

The medal is in high relief and differs greatly in workmanship from the type with the Arabic numeral.¹ A specimen of the Italian touchpiece exists in gold in the British Museum—it weighs 97 grains



GOLD TOUCHPIECE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BEARING THE LEGEND IAC. III.

and is probably an isolated pattern, and although struck upon a somewhat larger flan it appears to be from the same die as the ordinary silver specimens. I say isolated, because there is no golden example in the collection at Keir,² which belonged to the son of James—Henry, Cardinal York, who himself caused touchpieces to be struck under the title of “Henry IX.” Had James often presented gold touchpieces it seems likely that one would be found in the beautiful book-shaped box in tooled red morocco, which contains the family medals of the exiled Stuarts, but we must admit that no specimen of Cardinal York’s own touchpiece is there.

One more variety of a touchpiece under James presents itself. A letter dated Lausanne, May 1, 1897, signed by Dr. C. F. Trachsel, was published in Messrs. Spink’s *Numismatic Circular*, vol. v, p. 2257, in which the writer announced himself as the possessor of a brass example of the Hamerani type of medal.

I wondered whether this could be a pattern, an admission ticket, or a restrike such as will meet us again under “Henry IX.” But my question was answered by the appearance, in the late Mr. W. Talbot Ready’s sale of a brass touchpiece of approximately the size of the gold specimen in the British Museum.³ Although with fractured edge, this base-metal example is in mint condition, a fact

¹ For medal with Arabic 3, see *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 316, No. 139.

² In the collection of Brigadier-General Stirling-Maxwell of Keir, Dunblane.

³ Lot 789, Messrs. Sotheby, Nov. 19, 1920. It is above the average size and certainly from the same die as the gold specimen.

which strengthens my belief that the gold medal mentioned above is a pattern and the brass example a trial-piece. It is now in my possession and may or may not be the actual medalet from the cabinet of Dr. Trachsel. If poverty had reduced James to brass as the material for a touchpiece, it is curious that no more examples should have been forthcoming in these many years; and if it was actually intended for presentation, it is likely that the brass would have been coated with silver, a subterfuge later demanded by his reduced circumstances from Cardinal York.

It hardly seems likely that James Francis Edward, as "James III," touched a sufficient number of persons to render an admission ticket in the form of a metal pass a necessity, and it appears more probable that this little base medal was a contemporary trial-piece.

We have seen that it is distinctly stated that the titular king, "James III," touched without the sacred unction to which many attributed the healing power. In this he was no pioneer, for it was not necessarily the custom that our kings should await their coronation before beginning to heal. James II, for instance, was crowned in April, 1685, and began to touch for the Evil in the preceding March. Charles II had, it is true, been crowned in Scotland in 1651, but it was as King of England that he claimed the healing gift and he exercised it throughout his exile, and for nearly a year after his restoration—his English Coronation taking place in April, 1661.

It is well known that Monmouth touched for the Evil, basing his powers on his heredity, although but a left-handed scion of the House of Stuart. A long account of a cure, said to have been wrought in 1681 by this illegitimate son of Charles II, may be read in the Wellcome Museum. To go one step farther, Mr. Allan Fea, in his *King Monmouth*, mentions that "for years after the duke's execution," a silver buckle, now preserved in the Taunton Museum as having been worn by that unfortunate claimant to the crown, "was touched for King's Evil."¹

But in Prince Charlie we find the lineal and legitimate aspirant

¹ *King Monmouth*, published 1902, by Allan Fea, p. 303.

to the throne touching at Holyrood in 1745, whilst his father, in whose name he was advancing his pretensions, was still alive. The act appears to have been unpremeditated and rather unwillingly performed; it is therefore not likely that Prince Charles Edward was armed with his father's touchpieces, and no mention of a special medal is made in the report of the ceremony as given by Robert Chambers concerning the details of this extraordinary occasion. Chambers¹ tells the story at some length, and mentions that the Prince was first approached at Perth, but "excused himself, pleading want of time." However, a little seven-year-old girl "dreadfully afflicted with the disease ever since her infancy," was brought to him at Edinburgh, where at Holyrood "he was found in the Picture Gallery, which served as his ordinary audience chamber, surrounded by all his principal officers and by many ladies. He caused a circle to be cleared, within which the child was admitted together with her attendant and a priest in his canonicals. The patient was then stripped naked, and placed upon her knees in the centre of the circle. The clergyman having pronounced an appropriate prayer—perhaps the office above mentioned,² Charles approached the kneeling girl, and, with great apparent solemnity, touched the sores occasioned by the disease, pronouncing at every different application the words, 'I touch, but God heal.' The ceremony was concluded by another prayer from the priest, and the patient, being again dressed, was carried round the circle and presented with little sums of money by all present." We need not follow the historian's description of the child's subsequent recovery, but may draw attention to the words spoken by Charles as belonging to the French and not the English use in healing. Prince Charlie's change of religion was of later date,³ and therefore had he used any office

¹ *History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746*, vol. i, p. 184.

² On the previous page Robert Chambers spoke of the Office introduced into the Book of Common Prayer by Anne.

³ See Andrew Lang's *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 242, where the date of his declaring himself a Protestant is proved to be 1750 from his own words in a letter addressed to Sir John Pringle. Hume believed that he only renounced Catholicism in 1753, but the evidence produced by Andrew Lang is incontrovertible. See p. 155, note 2.

it would have been that revived by James II from the text of Henry VII, which was, as we have seen, chosen by James Francis Edward in Italy.

We have further records of Healings¹ held by Charles in his later years, namely in 1770, and again in 1786, but judging from the words used by Sir Horace Mann,² the British Minister in Florence, the service had at the latter date been some time in abeyance. The English Envoy mentions the arrival of Prince Charles, under the designation of "Count of Albany," at Florence, where he stayed a short time on his way to Pisa. He did not call himself Charles III, and "nobody," remarks Mann, "gives him the title, which perhaps he expects, and he refuses every other."³ Nevertheless he exercised the royal function of healing when he arrived a few days later at Pisa.⁴

At Rome Prince Charles had been presented by his brother "under a private name" to the Pope,⁵ and at Florence Sir Horace tells us that "the common people showed him a certain respect and gave him the title of Majesty, which title at Rome, excepting by his own immediate domestics, is totally disused."⁶ At Pisa on September 8, 1770, Mann is anxious that the Secretary of State should understand that it is only the poor and ignorant who acknowledge the Prince. "Two or three very low persons have applied to him to be touched for scrofulous disorders, which ceremony he performed."

Writing on August 8, 1786, Mann, seemingly forgetting his former mention of this "healing," says: "He has lately assumed the folly practised by his father and grandfather to touch people who are afflicted with scrofulous disorders."⁷

¹ *The King's Evil*, p. 158.

² *The Decline of the Last Stuarts*, published by Lord Mahon for the Roxburghe Club in 1843, consisting principally of letters from Sir Horace Mann, who was British Minister at the Tuscan Court, representing George II and George III from 1740 to 1786.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 39, August 21, 1770.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39, September 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35, June 30, 1769.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36, August 11, 1770.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The Prince was then at Albano, and the British Minister, speaking of the type of the patients healed, says "many old women and children have been presented to him for that purpose—to whom after some ceremony he gives a small silver medal, which they wear about their necks." The excessive rarity of Prince Charles's touchpieces corroborates the impression left by Mann that the healings were not many nor often.



TOUCHPIECE OF PRINCE CHARLES AS "CHARLES III."

The medals are usually much rubbed, owing to the high relief, and often carelessly pierced. Of the seven or eight specimens known to me, three hang with the archangel's head downward, no care being taken to avoid injury to the design or to the title which the Prince had assumed on the death of James as CAR · III · D · G · M · B · ET · H · R ·

On the demise of the old Chevalier in 1766, it is probable that Ottone Hamerani was employed to make the new obverse, as he himself survived until 1768. The medal of Charles is fractionally larger than that earlier in use, but the old puncheons, both of ship and angel, again did duty, so far as I may judge by the most perfect specimen that I have seen, namely the example in the Wellcome Museum.

In the case of Cardinal York, the brother and successor of Charles in the titular kingship, Dr. Crawford has also been able to bring forward documentary as well as numismatic evidence of healing.¹

¹ *The King's Evil*, p. 159; also *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. vii, p. 411. Letter from Hartwell Grissell. In 1883 Mr. Grissell had in his possession a silver touchpiece given him nine years before by Cardinal Santovetti of Frascati, with a written affidavit that it was used by Cardinal York in touching Santovetti's brother, as a child, and that he was cured by the touch.

It is somewhat curious that although Prince Henry is said to have effected cures at Frascati, less is told of his performances as a healer than concerning his brother, and yet his touchpiece is incomparably the easier to obtain. One can only suppose that what the one did publicly, the other, living simply as a Prince of the Church rather than as a would-be monarch, carried out with little ostentation. Charles died in 1788 and Cardinal York thenceforward no longer styled himself, "Henry, Duke of York and Cardinal," but substituted the words "Henry, called Duke of York." He continued to sign Henry Cardinal, and did not adopt the regal designation, Henry R.¹ He desired not to embroil the Pope with other states by assertions of a shadowy claim to a throne which he had no power to substantiate. Moreover, after the French Revolution, matters became additionally complicated, for he experienced great pecuniary loss and even sacrificed some of his family jewels to enable Pius VI to meet the tribute demanded by Napoleon from the Papal See. His residence at Frascati was wrecked by the French in 1799 and he fled first to Padua and then to Venice, where he was temporarily reduced to something very like destitution. His position became known at the British court, and it was arranged that George III should allow him a pension of £4000 a year. In acknowledgment of this favour he, on dying in 1807, bequeathed to the Prince Regent some of his remaining crown jewels, although curiously enough by his will, dated July 15, 1802, he asserted his right to the regal title which he had so seldom used.² Only upon his medals did Henry Benedict, Cardinal York, put forth his title as "Henry IX" after the death of his brother. Already in 1766 Filippo Cropanese, in making a medal for the Cardinal, had used the words: NON ·

¹ See Letter written in 1784 to the Pope at a time when Henry believed his brother to be dying, published in Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iii, p. 408. "We mean still to retain the title . . . of Duke of York . . . as a title of incognito." Henry explained that in so doing he did "not prejudice, much less ever renounce" his "rights of succession to the crown of England." See also *Henry Stuart, Cardinal York*, by A. Shield, p. 265.

² *Henry Stuart*, as above, p. 301.

DESIDERIIS HOMINVM · SED · VOLVNTATE · DEI.¹ This pathetic acknowledgment of the state of affairs tempered the assertion of his claim to the British crown, when, after the death of Charles, Gioacchino Hamerani executed two inferior copies of the above on which Henry announced himself as HEN · IX · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX · FID · DEF · CARD · EP · TVSC :² And to this artist we may probably attribute the touchpiece bearing the legend H · IX · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · R · C · EP · TVSC · The work of



TOUCHPIECE OF CARDINAL YORK AS "HENRY IX."

Gioacchino Hamerani is never equal to that of his father Ottone—and the healing-piece is both poorer and coarser than that of either James or Charles. The angel has his garments somewhat differently arranged ; the dragon's mouth is closed ; the edge of the medal is of a rougher grain. The ship also is in higher relief ; slight changes are visible in the rigging, and the lettering is necessarily

¹ See Cochran-Patrick's *Medals of Scotland*, plate 14, No. 6. Obv. : Portrait of the Cardinal : legend, HENRICVS · M · D · EP · TVSC · CARD · DVX · EBOR · S · REV · CANC · Rev. : Religion, holding Bible and cross. Legend as given in the text. Described by W. D. Haggard, *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, p. 149, No. 71, and illustrated facing p. 187, of *Henry Stuart, Cardinal York*, by A. Shield.

² *Num. Chron.*, vol. iii, p. 150, Nos. 72 and 73. Mr. Haggard describes, p. 152, a similar medal bearing the kingly titles and reading HENRICVS · NONUS · ANGLIÆ · REX, but it was unknown to Mr. Cochran Patrick, and I also have not met with it. It is, however, mentioned in the *Annual Register* of the year 1807. The reverse inscription is described as reading GRATIA · DEI · NON · VOLVNTATE · HOMINVM. Yet another variety must have existed, for Lord Cloncurry mentions in his memoirs the gift from the Cardinal of " the large medal struck in honour of his accession to his unsubstantial throne. Upon one side of this medal was the royal bust, with the Cardinal's hat, and the words ' Henricus nonus Dei gratia rex ' ; and upon the other the arms of England with the motto on the exergue, ' Haud desideris hominum, sed voluntate Dei. ' " *Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry*, 1st ed., 1849, p. 200. This medal is also described in *The Book of Days*, by R. Chambers, vol. ii, p. 235.

smaller to allow space for the longer legend describing the Cardinal as Bishop of Tusculum as well as king.

There are two differing dies of "Henry IX's" touchpieces, of which one type is extremely rare. They differ slightly in detail, especially in that of the dragon's mouth, which is open in the rarer and closed in other examples. I have indeed seen but one specimen of the rare variety, of which the workmanship is the finer.¹ The figure of the archangel in this example is thinner, the dragon's ribs are distinctly visible and the beast is more ornate, more scaled, and shows its claws. The ship on the obverse has finer lines and a slightly varied flag. On the whole I should be inclined to think that the maker of the respective puncheons was not the same man. If Henry, however, employed but one artist, the engraver produced a better result in the rarer touchpiece. It varies more from its prototype under the titular "Charles III" than does the commoner healing-piece of the Cardinal. It is therefore likely that the rare die is the later of the two.

The Reverend J. H. Blount, in his annotated Prayer-book,² mentions "two silver touchpieces" as being struck, bearing the title of "Henry IX," and it is possible that he had seen the rarer variety.

But if this rare variety was not the second specimen known to Mr. Blount, can he perhaps have seen a striking of later days, a hard and unpleasing little jetton which exists in three metals, although but rarely in gold? I have never seen an example of this modern reproduction in the latter metal, but a specimen is mentioned in Mr. Forrer's invaluable *Dictionary of Medallists*³ under the name of the engraver Stuart. Personally I think that although not unlike the very mechanical work of this artist, the bronze and silver jettons copying the touchpieces of "Henry IX" are suggestive of the mid-nineteenth rather than the late eighteenth century.

¹ Sold at Messrs. Sotheby's in a miscellaneous sale on July 27, 1917. Lot 188.

² *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, published 1866, p. 580. "Two silver touchpieces for distribution at the healing were struck by him as Henry IX."

³ *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, vol. v, p. 703.

Moreover, during the life of the Cardinal, with whom Stuart, so far as we know, was more or less contemporary,¹ no object could be attained by reproducing in so unfaithful a manner a medal still being issued. Mr. Forrer, with his customary courtesy, tells me that his attribution was founded on a traditional ascription offered with the gold specimen to Messrs. Spink, but the firm did not, he believes, make the purchase, and no further trace of it can be found beyond the note made by Mr. Forrer at the time. The technique of the silver specimens which I have seen might possibly justify such a solution of a difficult question, for Stuart was in the habit of making copies with a hard decision of outline, which makes it easy to distinguish his rendering from their prototypes. Stuart, moreover, if he still lived in 1799, might possibly have made new dies for Henry's own use, to supply the place of those lost in Rome. But this is highly improbable, and these hard little pieces, all unpierced as they are, seem to me of later origin. Tradition² states that medals and such memorials were sometimes struck at the Papal mint to give pleasure to English visitors, and when the dies became worn they were frequently replaced by copies, a fact to which Dr. Parkes-Weber was so good as to call my attention. I can only say that, kindly assisted by Mr. Baldwin, who made enquiries for me of one of the largest Italian firms of medallists, I find that the jettons are unknown at present in the Italian capital, and we have therefore been unable to follow this clue at Rome. It is clear that these so-called touchpieces cannot take rank as ordinary restrikes of the real touchpieces bearing the title "Henry IX," for such specimens as I have examined, whether in silver or bronze, are unpierced and struck from quite different dies from the original medal, and are not on a cast flan; they are, therefore, in no sense intended to deceive. But

¹ Little is known of Stuart excepting that he worked for the *Society of Arts* so early as 1759. The Cardinal survived until 1807 and his own dies must have been available until that date or at least until his flight in 1799, and possibly after his return to Frascati in 1801.

² See *The Lancet*, June 27, 1914, where Dr. Parkes-Weber states his belief that so late as 1870 visitors at the Papal mint were able to obtain restrikes from certain medallic dies at fixed charges.

it is a pretty tradition suggestive of the affection in which Henry's memory was held, that in recent times anyone should think it worth while to strike a medal to his honour.

My attention was attracted by Mr. A. H. Baldwin to the fact that certain base-metal touchpieces were made and worn in the time of this unfortunate Prince. He showed me two cast specimens, the one in copper plated with silver, the other in pewter or tin.¹ They differ slightly in design, and have probably been cast from examples of the varieties mentioned above. They are somewhat worn, and in the case of the pewter piece it appears that a defective medalet, perhaps struck from a broken die, was selected from which to make the casting, for the same flaw may be noticed on a similar base-metal specimen in the British Museum. In the state of the known pewter examples, it is not easy to recognise the fine lines of the superior jetton struck in silver, but the copper touchpiece, in spite of its light coating of plate, is clearly seen to be of the normal type. Probably we have in these base-metal healing medals the last resource of the impoverished Cardinal who, if the official dies were lost or left behind in Rome, might easily have caused casts to be made from touchpieces in his possession, using for the purpose the original types mentioned on our pages 177 and 178.

That Henry's power as a healer was held in reverence is evidenced by a curious story reported by a correspondent of *The Rambler*² within the last twenty years. A personal relic of him was treasured at an Irish country seat as a specific against scrofula, and even so late as in 1901 was begged to be used for one suffering from the King's Evil.

Just as the angel or touchpiece was held to be in itself a specific against the King's Evil, so in the fourteenth century, and doubtless long before, the coins of St. Helena were regarded as prophylactics

¹ From a sale, "Property of a Baronet," by Messrs. Sotheby, November 2, 1920, lot 391, now in the writer's collection.

² "Of Touching for the King's Evil," by the Honble Mrs. Greville Nugent, published in *The Rambler*, edited by Herbert Vivian, No. 230, vol. viii, November 23, 1901.

in case of epilepsy, and enormous quantities of Byzantine *solidi* with the emblem of the Cross were pierced and thus worn.¹

In the Irish case we have a survival of the belief in the royal healing power, irrespective of the wearing of the actual amulet which had been given with a special blessing and prayer. And as proof of the belief in the medal as a talisman, we may quote the seventeenth-century letter of a minister and student of medicine who braved the dangers of the Plague in 1665, and writing to a friend, attributed his immunity partly to his keeping in his mouth an angel of Elizabeth whilst he was in contact with the sick, on the ground that it was "phylosophical gold,"² and advised his friend to follow his example. Nearly a century later, namely, in the lifetime of the titular king "James III," it is clear that much importance was attached to the touchpiece itself, when the actual touch was not available, for among the interesting letters from James's secretary Edgar, published by Dom. Patrick Nolan from the archives of the Benedictine convent at Ypres, is one to the Abbess Mandeville concerning a touchpiece which had been sent to a Dame Malony.³ James caused his secretary to write that "Those medals being only designed for such as are affected with the Evil . . . His Majesty would not have given one . . . to send to your scribe, Dame Malony, unless he had thought she might have had the Evil or wanted it to be applied to some friend of hers who had it. Dame Malony is therefore desired to dispose of it that way as soon as she can."

My story draws to a close. With the death of Henry, Cardinal York, we have reached an hour in the world's history when the credulous spirit of the Middle Ages was dead and the belief in cures by the touch of the hereditary King had almost ceased. Dr. Crawford tells us that the "Paris of the Age of Reason seems to have formally

¹ *The Medallion Portraits of Christ*, by G. F. Hill, p. 106, note 4. "The Thirty Pieces of Silver."

² *Unknown London*, by Walter George Bell, p. 227—"Letters from London" of John Allen to his friend M. Fryth at Rye.

³ *The Irish Dames of Ypres*, by the Rev. Dom. Patrick Nolan, O.S.B., pp. 504-5—Letter dated from "Rome Aprile 20th, 1751."

investigated the cases of the 2400 patients touched by Louis XVI with the result of only five assured cures."¹ Nevertheless, at the Coronation of Charles X in 1824, this monarch still touched and received 121 persons, presented to him by the accredited surgeons.

How far such cures in early years as were really sometimes effected were due to mental suggestion, how much to enforced cleanliness or to the change of air or change of diet, above all, how many relapses may have occurred unrecorded, are questions that have been sifted by abler hands than mine. It is not for me to enquire. Courtly doctors were no doubt ready to believe the records of cures which were written in good faith. Many of these chronicles remind us only of the superstitions prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it was thought that the touch of the seventh son of the seventh son had this same mysterious power, or even later in time when the sick still sought contact with the dead hand.² The charming lines written by the late Lord Strangford³ in the mid-nineteenth century, put forth a plea for reverence towards the customs of the past :

" You have spoken light word
Of the Touching of old,
But you never have heard
Of the good Angel-gold !
For it was not alone
The monarch's kind eye,
Nor the links that are gone
'Tween the low and the high.

¹ *The King's Evil*, p. 161.

² John Aubrey, in his *Miscellanies*, pp. 129-30, writing so late as 1695, gravely reports such cures, in some of which he firmly believed, although he quoted Lord Chancellor Bacon as saying " That imagination is next kin to Miracle working Faith." In an article written in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1867—Part I, pp. 307-322, on " Suffolk Superstitions," the writer, Hugh Pigott, reports the belief in cures effected by a dead hand as still existing in that county. The imposition of a bishop's hand was also believed to possess healing power. I am informed by the Rev. J. D. Paton that the late Dr. Woodford, Bishop of Ely, had told him that rustics in the Fen Country asked him to confirm them a second time, because they were suffering from ague, and believed that they would be cured by the imposition of hands.

³ " The Touching for the Evil," in *Historic Fancies*, by George Smythe, seventh Viscount Strangford, pp. 88-94.

No, not for these only,
 Though these they were much,
 Came the stricken and lonely
 To kneel to the Touch.
 The soft hand was put out
 And the soft solace said :
 Few mourners could doubt
 Their evil had fled. . . .

* * * *

Oh, blame not their blindness,
 'Twas the blindness of love
 Made them think that this kindness,
 It came from above.
 And when 'twas thus given
 To those who had need
 That something of Heaven
 Was Majesty's meed."

* * * *

But belief in the royal touch survived century after century—and although certain healers, like James Philip Gandre in the time of Charles I,¹ or like Valentine Greatrakes in the reign of Charles II, rivalled the King,² we can but echo the words on the angel used as the touchpiece of Charles I, "AMOR POPVLI PRÆSIDIVM

¹ James Philip Gandre, a French Knight of the Order of St. Lazare, was sent to prison by Lord Chief Justice Richardson on June 7, 1632, for committing a contempt worthy of punishment in taking upon himself to cure the King's Evil. See *Parish Registers in England*, by R. E. Chester Waters, p. 82.


² Valentine Greatrakes, b. 1629, d. 1683, in 1662 conceived the idea of touching for the King's Evil, stroking his patients with some success and continuing to practise for some years. For further details concerning him, see p. 102 in our last volume. He did not himself call his cures miraculous, but Dr. Stubbs, a physician of Oxford, attributed his success to miraculous agency, see *The Miraculous Nonconformist*, and much controversy resulted from his book, of which our plate in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiv, is the frontispiece. By an unfortunate misprint on the same page, I mentioned as Rodwell, one Thomas Rosewell or Roswell, who was accused of urging the people to come to himself for cure, rather than to the king. Roswell produced evidence that he spoke of the soul and not of the body, and although the jury returned a verdict of guilty of high treason, he received "the king's pardon" from Charles II.

REGIS.”¹ If the first Charles deemed that “the love of his people is the King’s safeguard,” may we not also say that the love of the King is the safeguard of the people?

¹ This inscription was on the current angels of Charles the First, and also on the rare pattern piece made by Briot. On p. 126 of vol. xiii of our Journal, I referred to a punch, at that time unidentified, in the Royal Mint Museum. Owing to the temporary closing of the Museum in war-time, I was unable to see the punch, but Mr. Hocking, with his usual kindness, has since shown it to me, and although differing in some slight matters of detail in the dragon’s scales, it may be safely pronounced to be one of Briot’s punches for the projected angel figured on p. 135 of our vol. xii.

THE COINAGE OF IRELAND DURING THE REBELLION,
1641-1652.

BY F. WILLSON YEATES.

HE principal authorities upon this subject to whom reference is made in this paper are Simon, 1749;¹ Lindsay, 1839;² Ruding, 1840;³ Dr. Aquilla Smith, 1860;⁴ Mr. H. A. Grueber, 1899;⁵ and Dr. Philip Nelson, 1906.⁶

In some cases the conclusions arrived at by these writers are satisfactorily supported by documentary evidence, but in other cases there is clearly room for further research.

The following notes may draw fresh attention to the series and lead to a more satisfactory classification of the coins, which are fully described by Dr. Nelson in volume ii of the *Journal* of this Society.

Before dealing with the coins themselves it is necessary to form some idea of the currency in use in Ireland in 1641 at the time of the outbreak of the rebellion, and also of the parties taking part therein.

Prior to 1558 the silver coinage both in England and Ireland had steadily deteriorated, and was in a deplorable state. In that year Queen Elizabeth attempted to improve the standard in England by re-striking the English base money, which was only 3 ounces

¹ Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*, 1749, with Snelling's *Supplement*, 1810.

² *A View of the Coinage of Ireland*, by John Lindsay, 1839.

³ *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, 1840.

⁴ "Money of Necessity issued in Ireland in the Reign of Charles I," by Aquilla Smith, M.D., *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. iii, new series, p. 11, 1860.

⁵ *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, by H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., 1899.

⁶ "Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion, 1642-1649," by Philip Nelson, M.D., *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 291.

fine with 9 ounces alloy for circulation in Ireland. In 1561 the Queen endeavoured to improve the standard in Ireland by issuing the silver coins of the type with three harps on the reverse shield. These coins, which were 11 ounces fine to 1 of alloy, weighed 72 grains.

It was, however, a small issue, and was followed in February, 1600-1, by a large issue of base money. The sterling value of the fine coins issued was only £11,988 as against £278,000 of the base money.¹

James I attempted to improve the coinage in Ireland by his issues of 1603 and 1605 struck in the Tower Mint and shipped to Ireland. The shilling was 9 ounces fine to 3 of alloy and weighed $70\frac{1}{2}$ grains. In 1607 he issued a proclamation that the English shilling should pass for sixteen pence of the new harp money, and that everyone receiving or paying twelve pence Irish should pay or receive one harp shilling of money fine, and not $6\frac{3}{4}d.$, as of late had been used.

No issue was made by Charles I for Ireland between 1625 and 1641, but in 1637 a proclamation was made that the title of Irish money or harps should be abolished and that all accounts should be reduced into sterling and made in English money. That this proclamation was not entirely effective is shown by later documents among the Irish state papers, in which such expressions as a pension of "Irish 10/-" and a payment of "£E" are used, thus differentiating between the English and Irish currencies. The standard weight of silver coins struck at the Tower Mint during the reign of Charles I was $7\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{1}$ grains to the penny²—equal to $92\frac{2}{3}\frac{8}{1}$ grains to the shilling and the fineness was 11 ounces 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. alloy. The Irish fine shillings of the 9-ounce standard, being, according to the proclamation of James I, of one-fourth less value than the English shilling, should have weighed considerably over 70 grains, but according to Simon the Irish fine shillings and six-

¹ These particulars are taken from a paper by Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A., to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1917.

² Mr. Grueber, p. 106.

pences varied considerably in weight, some specimens weighing only 62 grains and 30 grains respectively.

The copper coinage of the period was also in an unsatisfactory state. Queen Elizabeth in 1601 and 1602 issued pennies and half-pennies for Ireland in copper of little intrinsic value. A considerable part of the mass of copper farthings issued in England under the patents granted to private individuals by James I and Charles I, and of the Rose farthings, found their way into Ireland to the disadvantage of the Irish people.

No mint was established in Ireland for the issues of Elizabeth and James I, but on the 16th of July, 1641, at a meeting of the privy council at Whitehall, which the King attended, the grievances set out in the petition from the Irish Parliament were considered, and to the petition "that a mint should be established in Ireland," the answer was "granted." No steps, however, were taken to establish such a mint. Besides the Irish and English coins, many kinds of foreign gold and silver coins appear to have been in circulation in Ireland, and with coins of such various values and fineness it is difficult to understand how tradesmen were able to carry on their business.

THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1641.

The writers dealing with the series of "Irish money of necessity" appear to recognise only two parties, namely, the Royalists and the Rebels. It should, however, be borne in mind that there were at least five opposing parties during the rebellion, which have been described by Carlyle as follows: "There are the Catholics of the Pale demanding freedom of religion under my Lord this and my Lord that. There are the old Irish Catholics under Pope's Nuncios, under Abba O Teage of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neil, demanding not religious freedom only but what we now call Repeal of the Union, and unable to agree with the Catholics of the English Pale. There are the Ormond Royalists of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without Covenant. Ulster and other Presbyterians, strong for

King and Covenant, and lastly Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither King nor covenant."

Viscount Chichester, writing on the 24th of October, 1641, from Belfast to the secretary attending the King in Scotland, reported that he had mobilized the King's forces, but that Sir Phelim O'Neill, "with a huge multitude of Irish soldiers," had seized Charlemont, Newry, and other northern towns. In the following year a number of Scots were landed in Ulster and they were eventually defeated in 1646 by Owen Roe O'Neil.

In the south, on the 23rd of October, 1641, the Catholics nearly succeeded in seizing Dublin, and on the 12th of December, 1641, Sir John Temple wrote to the King from Dublin Castle: "All Ulster is in the hands of the Rebels except where the Scots live. These have no arms. A great deal of Connaught and much of Munster is in their hands. The Lords of the Pale fraternise with the rebels. Besides the 2000 men besieged in Drogheda, we are not able to bring 3000. The city is surrounded by strangers."

On the 6th of November, 1641, the English Houses of Parliament formed a joint committee for Irish affairs to act in the King's absence, and steps were taken to authorise the Lord Lieutenant, then the Earl of Leicester, and the Lords Justices and Council in Ireland to organise an army under the Earl of Ormond.

By April, 1642, the Earl of Ormond had made some progress in this and was thanked by the King. On the 11th of May the King wrote from York to the Lords Justices: "We have referred your suggestions to the Lord Lieutenant and the Committee appointed by us and the Parliament to arrange these matters. You are to take Order for paying the Earl of Ormond and the Officers and men of his troop all arrears that they may be encouraged to follow up their victory of 15th April."

The issues of money dealt with in this paper are attributed to the Catholics of the Pale, who were the English Catholics in southern Ireland calling themselves the Confederated Catholics, and whose issues date from 1642; to the Royalists and Parliamentarians, who made issues jointly in 1642-3 and 1643; to the Parliamentarians,

who made issues of their own between 1644 and 1650 ; and to the Royalists, who also made issues of their own in 1649 and 1650.

No issues can be traced to the northern Catholics under O'Neil or to the Ulstermen or Scots.

THE MONEY OF NECESSITY.

The excellent article by Dr. Nelson detailing various issues of the English and Irish money of necessity having already appeared in volume ii of the Society's *Journal*, it is unnecessary to give illustrations and details of the general coins which will be found in that volume. It is proposed to deal with the series as follows : 1, The Kilkenny money. 2, The Inchiquin money. 3, The Ormond money. 4, The Cork and City moneys. 5, The Rebel money. 6, The Blacksmith's money ; and 7, The Dublin money.

1. *The Kilkenny Money.*

The Confederated Catholics, in consequence of their successes, formed an assembly which first met at Kilkenny on the 7th of June, 1642, to issue orders for the government of Ireland, but it was not until October and November, 1642, that their orders contained references to coinage.

Their order of the 27th of October, 1642, provided that a seal for the kingdom should be made, and a copy of the commission, dated the 31st of December, 1642, to Captain Oliver to fit out a ship and cruise in her against His Majesty's enemies or the enemies of the Catholic cause, which is to be found among the Irish state papers in the Record Office in London, is endorsed with a memorandum dated the 5th of March, 1643, that it was signed by the members named, and : " sealed in yellow wax bearing the mark of the long cross, a Crown on the right side and a Harp on the left with a flaming heart below and a dove above the cross and round about this inscription : ' Pro Deo Pro Rege Pro Patria Hibernia unanimis ' . " Several orders and other documents issued by the Confederated Catholics are preserved among the Irish state papers, but the writer has found only one specimen of what is described as the seal of the

kingdom. This is impressed on the face of a warrant issued by "the Supreme Council of the Confederated Catholics of Ireland," appointing Colonel Butler to the command of one thousand of the standing forces of the kingdom. The warrant¹ is dated the 20th of March, 1646, and a drawing of the seal is here produced.

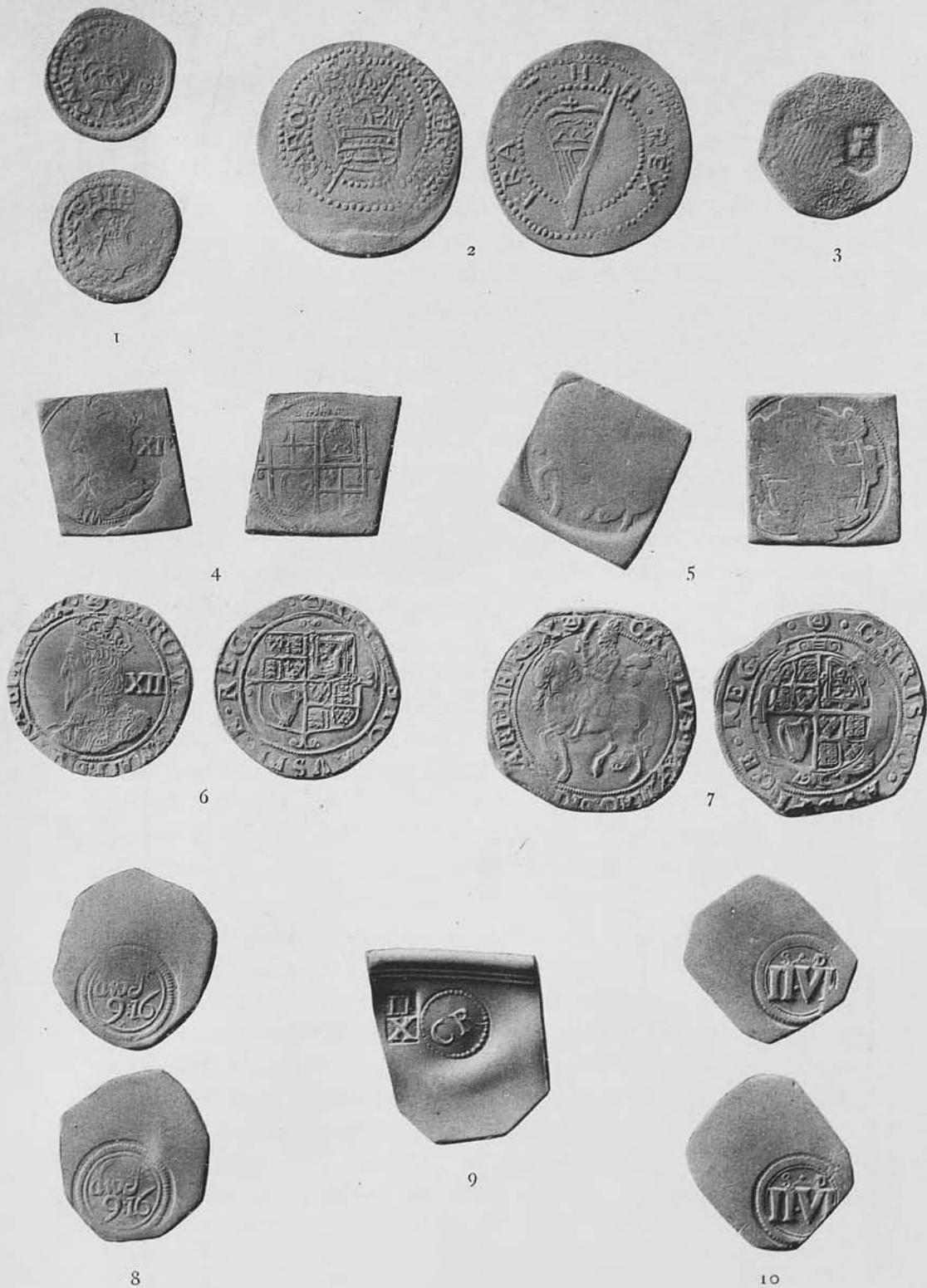


THE SEAL OF THE CONFEDERATED CATHOLICS.

Three or four other documents issued by "the Council and Committee of Instructions" bear a similar seal by way of a fastening, but such seal is of smaller size and the impressions are too poor to admit of accurate reproduction. It is probable that the description of the seal above quoted is taken from the smaller seal, for the legend on this large seal does not contain the word *Pro* before either *Rege* or *Patria*.

That on the 15th of November, 1642, the Confederated Catholics assembled at Kilkenny and ordered money to be struck, is referred to by Simon and other writers, but they appear to quote from an epitome of the order of that date as set out in Rymer's *Fœdera*. Dr. Aquilla Smith, however, found that Mr. Charles Halliday of Dublin was in possession of a full copy of the order, which is printed in volume i of the Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archeological Society and, omitting a few unimportant words, is as follows:—

¹ State Papers, Ireland, vol. 261, No. 117.



“ By the Lords and Gentry of Ireland assembled in Kilkenny.

WHEREAS we the Confederated Catholickes of this Kingdom of Ireland being enforced to take armes as well for the defence of the free exercise of the Roman Catholique religion throughout this Realme as of his sacred majesties right and prerogatives and the preservacion of the Catholiques and other his Majesties well affected subjects, plotted to be supplanted and destroyed by the malignant party enemies to God his majestie and all his well affected subjects and Kingdome much scarcitie of money and coyne in this Kingdome the same being ingrossed hertofore into the hands of our said enemies by their continued exactions oppressions and extortions whereby much detriment may ensue to our party if not timely prevented.

Wee therefore * * * declare that all money plate and coyne as well silver as gold English and forraine heerafter mentioned shall be * * * raised and inhanced to the just and full value expressed in this Act and that the same shall be according to the said values sett and established by the said Act esteemed taken and received by all and everie person and persons whatsoever of our partie and all such others as doe and shall joyne with us in this Kingdom videlicet: That peeces of 8 be raised to 6s. the peeces of 4 and 2 rateable, the Portingall testin to 1s. 8d. the Cardique¹ of France to 2s.; the half cardique to 1s. the Pistolet of 14s. to 20s., the quarable and single rateably the Rider of Scotland to 2s., the Jacobus of 22s. to 29s. and 4d. sterling, the 20s. of James and Carolus to 26s. and 8d., the half and quarter ratable. The Albertus² raised to 13s. and 6d. the half accordingly, the Rose of 4s. 4½d. to 5s. and 6d. All these coines of gold and silver to be due weight the usual allowance to be given according to the proportion anie of them shall not want of their weight.

The 13½d. is to be raised to one shilling 6d. the 1s. sterling to 1s. 4d. the 6d. to 8d. the 9d. to 12d. the 4d. to 5d. the 3d. to

¹ ? Cardière.

² ? Albertin.

4*d.* the 4½*d.* to 6*d.* the 2*d.* to 3*d.* and the dominick grote to 4*d.* the copper groate to 5*d.* the white groate of coper to 2*d.* and that the 9*d.* of the said severall coynes be henceforth reputed and doe pass for a 1*s.* and half a Crown peece doe pass henceforth for 10 groates. And wee do further Order publish and declare that the plate of this Kingdome be coined with the ordinarie stampe used in the moneyes now currant.

Wee do likewise publish and declare that there shall be 4000 L of red copper coyned to farthings and ½ pence with the Harp and Crowne on the one side and to septers on the other and that everie pound of copper be made to the value of 2*s.* 8*d.* and that this coine shall be currant before as well payment. No person or persons be compelled to take but 1*s.* in each pound and so ratable in everie severall payment other than that all payments not exceeding 6*d.* may be made and shall be accepted in the said copper coine. And if the poll of London and Dublin tuch and all plate of equal goodnesse and value shall pass and be accepted at 6*d.*¹ the oz. sterling * * * * *

All which we doe publish and declare to have been urged into by necessitie for his majesties service * * * * and we do straightlie chardge and command all Generalls and Commanders of our forces all Magistrates or Officers Militarie or Civil to whom it shall or may concerne in all Provinces Citties Countie towns and liberties of our partie through this Kingdome to take Special Notice of this our present Act and with all diligent speed to cause the same to be put in due execution within their severall jurisdictions respectivelie with² all and everie of the Confederate Catholiques and their said adherence are particularly to observe and fulfil at their uttermost peril.

DATED at Kilkenny the 15th of 9ber 1642 and in the 18th yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lo : Charles by the Grace of God King of Greate Britain France and Ireland. God save the King."

Signed by Mountgarrett Plunkett and seven others.

¹ ? " 6*s.*"

² ? " which."

There seems to be little doubt that coins were struck under this order. At the trial of Lord MacGuire on the 11th of November, 1644, at Westminster, for organizing the rebellion,¹ Sir Charles Coote, a parliamentary general, said of the Kilkenny Council: "They have made several judges of their own Courts; they print, they coin, they do all in their own names."

The only coins hitherto attributed to this order are the Rebel crown and halfcrown and the Blacksmith's halfcrown, Plate II, 4 and 5, and the Kilkenny halfpenny and farthing, Plate I, 1 and 2. The copper coins must be rightly so attributed. Some of them are countermarked with a castle, the arms of the town of Kilkenny, over the letter K, Plate I, 3, and Dr. Cane² states that three pieces in his collection were all found in the town. But the correctness of the attribution of the Blacksmith's halfcrown or the Rebel crown or halfcrown to this order is doubted for the reasons given below.

A silver coin which seems much more likely to have been issued under the order is illustrated by Dr. Nelson on page 317 and may be described as follows:—

Obverse: Crowned head of Charles I to left with the numerals XII in the field behind the head; within a plain circle only visible in front of the crown.

Reverse: The royal arms on a square shield garnished; within a grained circle.

Struck on a piece of silver .8 of an inch in diameter, lozenge-, or nearly square shaped. Weight 61 grains. Plate I, 4.

It is natural that the Confederated Catholics should issue their coins according to the Irish standard of weight rather than to the English standard, and this would account for the weight being only 61 grains, which is about 8 grains below the Irish standard. The light weight of the coin may be explained by the fact that some of the Irish regal coins weighed only 62 grains as before mentioned. The weight of the Blacksmith's halfcrown and the Rebel pieces

¹ Howell's *State Trials*, vol. iv, p. 654.

² Kilkenny Archæological Society's *Journal*, vol. i, p. 442.

varies considerably, but even the lightest pieces are above what would have been the Irish standard for a halfcrown.

The shilling bears: "the ordinarie stampe used in the monies now currant," as directed by the order of 1642, in that it is copied from the Tower shilling of Francis, type iv c, with mint-mark triangle-in-circle,¹ Plate I, 6, which was also issued in 1642, and a comparison of figures 4 and 6 shows that the one is copied from the other. The omission of the usual legends with the royal titles is significant, notwithstanding the professions by the Confederated Catholics of loyalty to the King. The square shape and incorrectness of weight indicate money of necessity.

The writer's attention was drawn to the last-mentioned coin by reason of a piece in his own cabinet which may be described as follows:—

Obverse: Charles I on horseback to the left within a grained circle.

Reverse: The royal arms in an oval shield garnished, within a grained circle.

Struck on a piece of copper .9 of an inch square, which is a little too small to show the whole of the devices in the circles. Weight 140 grains. Plate I, 5.

This piece, as a comparison of figures 5 and 7 on Plate I will show, appears to be copied from the Tower halfcrown of Francis, type iv, with mint-mark triangle-in-circle,² Plate I, 7, the weight of which was 231 grains, and it was issued between the 15th of July, 1641, and the 29th of May, 1643. How the Irish piece came to be struck upon a copper blank is a question inviting speculation. It may have been a trial piece.

Further comparisons of these two unusual examples of money of necessity may be made with their prototypes, illustrated in this *Journal*, to Mr. Grant R. Francis's standard work on *Silver Coins of the Tower Mint of Charles I*, Plate V, Volume XIII, for the half-crowns, and Plate V, Volume XIV, for the shillings.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xiv, pp. 65-66.

² The same, vol. xiii, pp. 79-80.

There can be little doubt that an issue of these square pieces of two denominations of the value of halfcrown and shilling based upon the Irish standard, was prepared, and the question arises whether this issue was made by the Confederated Catholics under the order of 1642.

The order of 1642, after directing that all money, plate, and coin thereafter mentioned should be raised and enhanced, sets out a list of the current coins. Among these coins is the shilling sterling to be raised to 1s. 4d. and the ninepence to 12d. These coins are presumably the English and Irish regal shillings. The order then directs, 1, that "the 9d. of the said several coynes" should pass for one shilling and the halfcrown for ten groats; and, 2, that the plate be coined with the ordinary stamps used in the moneys then current. The order does not give any direction as to the denominations of the coins to be made from the plate. It is, however, suggested that these coins were the ninepence and halfcrown of the Irish standard directed to pass for one shilling and ten groats respectively. This would be clearer if the direction as to coining the plate had been inserted before the reference to the ninepence and halfcrown, and it may be that after the list of current coins a direction should have been inserted that the plate was to be coined into denominations of ninepence and halfcrown. In this connection it is important to note that the order directs the current coins enumerated to be "raised" in value, but in dealing with the ninepence and halfcrown different language is used. It is ordered that the ninepence "be henceforth reputed and doe pass for a 1s. and half a crown piece doe pass henceforth for 10 groates." The expression: "reputed and doe pass for" is appropriate to a new issue of coin, not familiar to the people; and is distinguished from the direction that the current coins were to be "raised" in value.

Unless the direction as to the ninepence and halfcrown refers to the coins to be made from the plate, there seems to be no reason or necessity for its insertion, because there was no current Irish halfcrown, and the ninepence had already been mentioned among the current coins.

If this view of the order is correct, then the square coins before described seem exactly to answer the description of those to be made from the plate, and no other known coins seem to answer that description.

A search in the principal text-books for pieces of Charles I, of "the ordinary stamp used in the money now current," struck on square or lozenge-shaped flans led to the discovery of only two such pieces, which curiously supply a crown and a sixpence to the halfcrown and shilling. These pieces are both illustrated by *Ruding*, 1840 edition, but the coins themselves have not been traced, so that little can be said about them with confidence.

The first piece is illustrated on plate XXVI, No. 4, and may be described as follows :—

Obverse : Charles I on horseback to the left, the horse with flowing tail, but no mane shows in front of the neck. The near fore leg stands upon a line for ground. Legend, · CAROLUS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FR · ET · HI · REX : mint-mark a lion.

Reverse : The royal arms on a square shield with scroll above, and below, between the initials C and R. Legend, · CHRISTO · AUSPICE · REGNO · •• Mint-mark a lion.

Struck on a square blank a little too small to show the whole devices. Weight, 293 grains.

At p. 330, vol. ii of *Ruding*, the coin is described with the following note :—

" This remarkable piece, by its appearance, seems designed for a halfcrown ; but its not having been sized to its just weight makes it difficult to determine whether it was ever current at all, or if it was, for what value it passed. The place of its mintage also is far from being certain : if its having the same mint-mark as the reverse of No. 7 is a just ground for conjecture then it might be struck by some of the York minters after they were dispersed ; and possibly Nos. 9, 10, and 11,¹ also, for the same reason. It is in the collection of Peter St. Hill, esq. ; and

¹ It is obvious that *Ruding's* " 12 " is an error for 11.

a lesser piece of the same sort may be seen in the Supplement [A] plate V, No. 8, which is marked EBOR, and in some degree confirms the above conjecture respecting the place where No. 4 was coined."

Of the piece referred to in Supplement [A], plate V, No. 8, only the reverse is illustrated, which may be described as follows:—

Reverse: The royal arms on a square shield quartered by a cross fourchy extending into the legend. Legend: CHRIST|O·AUSP|ICE RE|GNO. Over the shield EB|OR. Mint-mark a lion. Struck on a square flan. Weight, 31 grains.

The note, volume ii, p. 375, to this coin refers to Plate XXI, No. 9, of the same work, a York threepence with III behind the bust, and weighing only 18 grains, and to the crown previously described, Plate XXVI, No. 4. The note further states: "If this were ever current, probably it was for a groat."

In many cases the obverse or reverse, only, of a coin is illustrated in Ruding's work, and there is no reason to suppose that the obverse of this was blank. It is assumed that the numeral III did not appear on the obverse. If it did, that would prevent the piece being used as an Irish sixpence as suggested. At the same time the remark in the note that it was probably intended for a groat should not have much weight.

The four coins above described weigh 293 grains, 140 grains, 61 grains and 31 grains, making a series all on square flans, of crown, halfcrown, shilling and sixpence, with an approximate standard weight of 61 grains for the shilling, which is the actual weight of the shilling illustrated as Figure 4.

The crown and sixpence would have been prepared at a later date than the halfcrown and shilling, as they are not mentioned in the order of 1642. They have the legend added, and with it a mint-mark, but presumably if the legends had been added to the halfcrown and shilling the Tower mint-marks would also have been copied.

It must be borne in mind that no crowns or halfcrowns of the Irish standard were known, and too much significance must not be

attached to the suggestion that these four coins were of one series. It may be that the shape and comparative weight are merely coincidences. As, however, the halfcrown is connected by obvious similarities with the shilling, why should not the sixpence, which was known as an Irish coin, be added to the series? If the sixpence be added, the crown has as much claim to be included as the sixpence or halfcrown.

It is interesting to note that these four coins bear the devices of the regal money, for in no instance does the authorised money of necessity issued in Ireland, or the siege pieces issued in the towns and castles of England, bear the devices of the regal coins.

A somewhat laborious search in sale catalogues, Messrs. Spink and Son's *Numismatic Circular* and other publications, for similar pieces has had but poor results. No example of the large York piece, *Ruding*, Plate XXVI, 4, can be traced; but two halfcrowns have been noted which both passed through the Webb, 1894, and Montagu, 1895, collections. The first was Lot 317 in the Montagu sale:—

Tower halfcrown, type 3A, mint-mark triangle, usual type, but struck on a diamond-shaped flan, well preserved
from the Webb collection, Lot 414.

In the Webb sale this piece in Lot 414 is described as struck on a square piece of silver.

The second was Lot 579 in the Montagu sale:—

Uncertain mint. Halfcrown, mint-mark tun, on reverse only.

Obverse: CAROLUS : D : G : MA : BR : FR : ET · HIB · REX.

King on horseback holding sword over shoulder, plume on head of horse—no ground.

Reverse: CHRISTO : etc. Oval garnished shield with C R at sides. Reverse as Hks. 482, well preserved,
being struck on a piece of metal lozenge-shaped.

From the Webb collection, Lot 413.

In the Webb sale this piece in Lot 413 is described as diamond-shaped. Both of these coins are now in the collection of Mr. Sidney Webb.

In Messrs. Spink and Son's *Numismatic Circular*, No. 73293, 1919, p. 293, a coin is described as an Exeter crown, similar to Hawkins, type 2, fig. 479, struck upon a square flan, unusually well preserved, but the weight is not stated.

Two or three specimens of the square or lozenge-shaped shilling have been traced. In the Boyne sale, 1896, Lot 1277 contained one described as struck on a diamond-shaped flan and as a curious and unpublished siege coin.

In the Murdoch sale, 1903, Lot 342 contained a specimen described as a lozenge-shaped coin of rude work but curious, and probably a siege coin : from the York Moore collection, 1879, Lot 336.

Messrs. Spink and Son's *Numismatic Circular*, No. 96765, 1903, p. 7173, described a specimen as lozenge-shaped.

In the Hilton Price sale, 1909, Lot 229 contained a specimen described as an uncertain siege shilling struck on a square blank of metal, the design being evidently produced from a pair of Tower-Mint dies, or by the use of Tower punches.

In the Hilton Price sale of 1910, Lot 142, another specimen appeared, described as diamond-shaped and in very fine condition, the dies being evidently prepared from Tower-Mint punches. This coin is now in the collection of Miss Helen Farquhar, who has kindly allowed casts to be made of it for our illustration, Plate I, 4.

No specimen of the smaller piece figured in Ruding's Supplement can be traced, but in the Webb sale, 1894, Lot 550, appeared a York threepence with lion mint-mark struck on an octagonal flan, and described as very well preserved. This coin was in the Murdoch sale, 1903, Lot 281, and is described as reading AUSPCE on the reverse. In the *Numismatic Circular* for 1905, p. 8679, No. 20650, the foregoing octagonal threepence is presumed to be unique, and again in 1907, p. 9689, No. 37063, it is described as reading MA · BR · F · E · H.

Enquiry at the British Museum has failed to disclose any similar specimens struck upon square or lozenge-shaped flans. If any of the diamond or square-shaped coins were in fact issued by the Confederated Catholics it may be asked why are they not more

plentiful? The writer can only conjecture that for some reason, such as the fineness of the metal, they were melted down again into bullion. Even then isolated specimens ought to be found from time to time in Ireland, but of such finds, no records at present exist. On the other hand, specimens of the Rebel crown and half-crown, of the Cork shilling and sixpence, and of the Dublin crown and halfcrown are very rarely met with.

2. *The Inchiquin Money.*

The coins known as the Inchiquin money were struck on plain flans of irregular shape with a small circular counter stamp. The coins of the first issue were stamped with the weight on both sides, Plate I, 8; those of the second issue gave the weight on one side and the value on the other, and those of what is now treated as the third issue, Plate I, 10, gave the value only on both sides.

Among the Ormond Letters published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission¹ are a series of letters written by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, principally to the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons. These letters detail the progress of the rebellion, and generally end with an appeal for money for the troops. In their letter to the Speaker of the 20th of January, 1642-3, the Lord Justices, after describing the straits in which the Army was for the want of pay, wrote: "We directed that in present, to render some subsistence to the Officers until treasure arrive hence, every man in this City shall bring in half his plate to be paid for it when treasure arrives * * * but alas so inconsiderable is the quantity of plate left here as it cannot amount to any considerable sum nor hold out for many days unless supply of treasure come from thence"; and in a further letter of 20th February, 1642-3, they wrote: "The plate brought in by persons of all sorts, among whom there are but three papists that brought in any, though we used all possible endeavour to advance it by calling many of them to this Board and otherwise, amounts to not £1200, a sum so mean and inconsiderable

¹ Vol. ii, N.S., 1903.

as can in no degree give any contentment to the Officers of the Army towards their great arrears, which shows as well the extreme poverty of this place and all men here as the high necessity of hastening the supply of treasure."

An earlier letter of the Lords Justices of the 2nd of August, 1642, shows that upon the death of Sir William St. Leger, the Lord President of the Province of Munster, they entrusted the Civil Government of Munster to the Earl of Barrymore and the Lord Baron of Inchiquin as Commissioners with the Council there, and entrusted Lord Inchiquin with the command of the forces in Munster.

The proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council referred to in their letter of the 20th of January is dated the 14th January of 1642-3, and is set out by Simon in his Appendix¹ as document XLVI. The proclamation shows that it was issued in pursuance of an act or order of the Council of the 5th of January. The quotation from the act given by Dr. Aquilla Smith² does not refer to Lord Inchiquin or to the issue of silver coins, and he states that Lord Inchiquin was not in any way connected with the coinage of this money. This view is also taken by Mr. Grueber.³

Dr. Nelson gives no authority for his statement⁴ that by the Act of the 5th of January, Lord Inchiquin, Vice-President of Munster, was empowered to issue silver coins of various denominations.

The documents show that the issue was made by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland on behalf of the English King and Parliament.

It is important to note that the weights stamped on the coins, and in fact approximately used, were of the English Tower-Mint Standard.

Mention should here be made of what may have been a fourth type of the Inchiquin issue. The piece used to be known as "the Lathom House shilling," and may be described as a piece of silver cut in irregular shape from a plate or dish, showing part of the rim, with a circular countermark on the obverse .4 inch in diameter,

¹ p. 116.

² p. 11.

³ p. 235.

⁴ p. 333.

showing "C R" in a circle of dots and another smaller oblong countermark of the value XII, set II over X, in Roman numerals. The reverse is plain and the weight 125.9 grains, Plate I, 9.

Dr. Nelson, on p. 318, tentatively describes and illustrates the piece under Lathom House, Lancashire, but fails to give any good reason for attributing the coin to that house.

Mr. Andrew, in his paper on English Obsidional Money, in vol. xi of this *Journal*, was of opinion that the coin was certainly Irish and of Inchiquin character.

Assuming that the third type of the Inchiquin money was the crown and halfcrown bearing the value in Roman numerals on both sides—see Plate I, figure 10, which illustrates the halfcrown—this "Lathom-House" piece would follow as a coin of lesser denomination with the value in Roman numerals, but with a new countermark bearing the initials of the King. Such a type would form a connecting link between the Inchiquin issue commenced in January, 1643, and the Ormond issue authorised in May, 1643. It would also prove the growth of the royalist influence in Ireland in the spring of 1643, by the introduction by the Lords Justices upon their coins of necessity of, first, the royal initials and, afterwards, a royal crown over such initials.¹ It will be found that the official correspondence as to the Inchiquin issue was with the Lord Lieutenant and the Speaker, while that relating to the Ormond issue was with the King direct.

There are, however, difficulties in the way of attributing the piece to the Inchiquin issue, of which the principal is the weight, 125.9 grains. The coins of both the Inchiquin and Ormond issues conformed fairly strictly with the standard of the Tower Mint of about 92 grains to the shilling. No doubt this was facilitated by the plate usually being melted down and formed into flans of correct weight. The "Lathom-House" shilling is cut direct from the plate, which may account for some error, but an error of over 35 per cent. is hardly likely to have been passed in the Dublin issues.

¹ Dr. Nelson, on p. 353, illustrates a copper coin countermarked with C R beneath a crown in a circular indent of similar size to that on the Inchiquin half crowns.

Another difficulty is that in the Inchiquin issues the two countermarks do not both appear upon the same side of the coin, nor are the countermarks other than circular in shape. On the other hand, the type of the "Lathom-House" shilling is unlike that of any other known English siege piece and is like that of the Inchiquin series. In the absence of more definite information about the coin, it is suggested that it may more properly be treated as a fourth type of the Inchiquin issues.

3. *The Ormond Money.*

This issue—of which our illustration, Plate II, 1, represents a halfcrown—was also by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland. It was made under the authority of a letter from the King, dated the 25th of May, 1643, the draft of which was prepared by the Lords Justices and sent to the King for signature, with the following letter:¹

1643 May 15 Letter Lord Justices and Council to Sir Edward Nicholas, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

Although the quantity of plate here is very little and no bullion at all that we know of, yet in our necessities here, which are indeed grievous and unspeakable, we find it necessary to offer to His Majesty's princely consideration this enclosed draft for warranting the melting down and coining the little plate left here and bullion if any may be gotten. And if His Majesty in his Royal judgment shall approve thereof, we desire to take care that it be returned to us under His Majesty's Royal signature and Privy Signet with all convenient speed.

The text of the King's letter² of the 25th of May, 1643, is as follows:—

1643 May 25. Oxford.

The King to the Lords Justices and Council for coining plate into small pieces.

Our subjects in Ireland are so reduced by the Rebellion that they are anxious to coin a little money out of their own

¹ *Ormond Letters*, N.S., vol. ii, p. 283.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Irish*, vol. 260, p. 383.

plate as a last remedy for their support. This sum is so small that it is not worth while to set up a Mint for the purpose in Ireland and this would take too much time. You shall therefore authorise such persons as you think fit by commission to melt down their plate and make it into five shillings half-crowns twelvepences and sixpences. You shall receive these coins and stamp them with C R and a crown on one side and their value on the other. They shall be of the same value and alloy as the current money in England. You shall give what allowances you think fit to the coiners, and take security against fraud from them.

On the 20th of September, 1643, the Lords Justices wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas :—¹

According to His Majesty's Royal pleasure signified unto us by his letter of 25th May last, we caused a commission to issue to certain persons here for melting down plate coin bullion or silver into small pieces as His Majesty's said letters directed and have issued a Proclamation for making such pieces current here as His Majesty by his said letters commanded. And in regard His Majesty by his said letters hath declared his gracious intention to make the same current in England and for that it will not otherwise pass here but with much loss, we therefore have sent the said Proclamation here enclosed humbly beseeching His Majesty that by his Royal Commandment the said pieces be made current in England and that a public notification thereof be sent hither as speedily as conveniently may be.

Simon, in his appendix, document XLVII, sets out the proclamation of the Lords Justices and Council dated the 8th of July, 1643, for the issue of these coins. This proclamation gives "the tenor" of the letter from the King, but omits the direction that the Lords Justices were to receive the coins and stamp them. The proclamation suggests that the three Commissioners appointed to melt the plate also stamped the coins, but it seems more likely

¹ *Ormond Letters*, N.S., vol. ii, p. 313.

that officials were employed in Dublin Castle to prepare the dies and stamp the flans as directed by the King.

The Lords Justices' request that the coins should be made current in England appears to have been granted, for on the 11th of December, 1643, they write to Sir Edward Nicholas¹ that "His Majesty's Proclamation touching the Irish coin we have received and caused it to be reprinted and published here," but the writer has been unable to trace any such publication either in England or Ireland.

Simon² states that plate to about £120,000 was coined at this time, but Dr. Cane³ explains that £1200 only was coined from plate, the remainder of the £120,000 issued being made up of remelted coins and contributions from England.

It should be noted that the weight of the coins of this issue is approximately that of the standard of the English Tower Mint.

Although this is called the Ormond money, it does not appear that Lord Ormond had anything to do with its issue. He was from the commencement of the rebellion the Lieutenant-General of the King's armies in Ireland, but it was not until the 21st of January, 1643-4, that he assumed the active duties of Lord-Lieutenant. The documents show that the money was required primarily for general circulation, and not necessarily for the soldiers' pay; therefore it is suggested that the issue should more properly be called "The Lords Justices' Second Issue."

The power of the Lords Justices and Council to issue money is further shown by a letter,⁴ also dated the 25th of May, 1643, written by the King to "the Lords Justices and Council for issuing monies in Ireland," as follows:—

The power given to our late Justices to issue money is determined with their tenure of office. We therefore empower you and your successors for the future at any time to give orders to the Vice Treasurer and Treasurer for Wars for issuing money sent to them from England as occasion shall serve.

¹ *Ormond Letters*, N.S., vol. ii, p. 337.

² p. 47.

³ *Kilkenny Archæological Society*, Series I, vol. i, p. 442.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Irish*, vol. 260, p. 381.

A number of the Ormond crowns have been found to have a copper centre, and it seems likely that whenever the supply of silver plate or bullion ran short, the Dublin Castle officials resorted to this expedient to make good the deficiency.

4. *Town Pieces of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon.*

The four Munster towns of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon, held out from the commencement of the rebellion against the Confederated Catholics, whose headquarters were at the neighbouring town of Kilkenny. Each town struck coins of its own, while garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces, and such coins usually bore a circular device and were struck on a square or irregular flan.

Simon¹ says that in the years 1645 and 1646 another kind of money was struck at Cork, namely, shillings and sixpenny pieces of silver; that these have on one side the word CORK, and under it the year 1645 or 1646, and on the other side the value, XIId and VIId. He illustrates the sixpence as Plate VII, No. 143, and the shilling is illustrated in Snelling's Supplement, Plate I, No. 30, and both are dated 1647. Lindsay² points out that the Cork shilling and sixpence are dated 1647 and not 1645 or 1646. He also illustrates brass coins of Cork on square flans, one of which is dated 1646. Farthings of Cork and Youghal are here illustrated, Plate II, 2 and 3.

Ruding makes no mention of the pieces in vol. i, but the shilling and sixpence are illustrated in Plate XXVIII, 11 and 12. The note to them in vol. ii, p. 332, merely points out Simon's error in date and states that the coins were struck at Cork.

Dr. Aquilla Smith, in section VIII of his paper, p. 137, refers to the brass coins described by Lindsay and mentions that within a few years³ many of the same class had been discovered. He describes pieces of all the four towns. These latter coins, he points out, had all the arms or part of the arms of the town upon them. He illustrates two of Kinsale, one of Bandon, one of Cork, the seal of Youghal, with the device of the galley, and seven coins of that town. He quotes the statement in Smith's *History of Cork* that in

¹ p. 48.

² p. 56.

³ of 1860.



1



2



3



4



5



5



6



7



6

1642, except these four towns, every town in Munster was then in possession of the rebels, and the assertion in a report to the English Parliament on the state of Ireland, dated the 10th of December, 1646, that in Munster the Parliament had these four towns, and in them 4000 foot and 300 horse.

Dr. Aquilla Smith, in sec. 9, p. 141, describes the Cork shilling and sixpence of 1647, adding :—

“ I have already stated my reasons¹ for dissenting from the common belief that the pieces of silver stamped with only their value expressed in pennyweights and grains were coined by Lord Inchiquin, but I do not altogether reject the tradition that money was coined by order of His Lordship during the period he was in authority as President of Munster. In May, 1647, he took Dungarvan and he then intended to besiege Clonmel, but the want of provisions and other necessities for his troops compelled him to retire to Cork—Cox, *History of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 196. The date of these pieces, which corresponds with the fact of Lord Inchiquin being compelled to retire to Cork in 1647 in some degree supports the tradition that money was coined by order of His Lordship, and if the name of ‘ Inchiquin money ’ is to be retained, it may with more probability be applied to the Cork shilling and sixpence than to any other money issued during the Civil War in Ireland.”

Mr. Grueber² states that it is not improbable that the Cork money—shillings and sixpences in silver, and pennies in copper—was struck by order of Lord Inchiquin during his short sojourn in that city in May, 1647, and that this attribution somewhat supports the tradition that money was coined there by his order. As to the pieces of the other three towns, Mr. Grueber suggests that they were probably intended to pass as pennies, and may have been issued by the rebels in 1646, as all those places were in their hands at that time. This statement, however, seems to be entirely contrary to those of other authors.

¹ p. 2.

² p. 237.

Dr. Nelson¹ states that during the years 1646-1647 the four towns were defended for the King by his adherents in Munster, and that coins were issued at all these strongholds, and he proceeds to describe the coins, adding several varieties not before mentioned. He adopts the view that the shilling and sixpence of Cork were struck during Lord Inchiquin's stay there in May, 1647.

After Dr. Aquilla Smith's paper was written the Rev. S. Hayman prepared a paper, also published by the Kilkenny Society.² He describes eight varieties of the Youghal pieces found when removing the pews in the church there, and states that Mr. Croker, then engaged on a "Life of Lord Broghill"—which was never published—attributed the coins of all the four towns to him, the towns being under his command or influence. Lord Inchiquin was appointed President of Munster on the 14th of January, 1644-5. Lord Broghill was Vice-President and in command of the Parliamentary forces in Munster.

This attribution to Lord Broghill has been strikingly confirmed by a further paper from the Rev. S. Hayman, published by the successors of the Kilkenny Society,³ where he sets out the following order, dated the 20th of March, 1645-6, by the Vice-President and Council of Munster, which is to be found among the British Museum Additional Manuscripts, No. 25287:—

WHEREAS it has been generally observed that the most part of the monies and coins now current in the Army and amongst the inhabitants and rest of the English Garrisons are pieces of eight Rix dollars and other large foreign coins very difficult to be exchanged for want of which the soldier is hindered providing himself victual befitting his condition which the markets might furnish if there were small monies which might pass current. It is therefore thought fit that certain small pieces of copper and mixed metal be coined and stamped by Nicholas Stowte Gent. and Marmaduke Deverox in manner following, namely: every such piece to be in value a farthing and pass in all exchanges within the English quarters and

¹ p. 349.

² Vol. ii, N.S., p. 195.

³ Vol. v, Series 4, p. 36.

weight one quarter of an ounce or with 12 ounces in each pound weight to be formed and cut square, having a ship stamped on one side and Y T on the other¹ charging all his majesty's subjects within the town of Yoghall to receive the said pieces so stamped. PROVIDED ALWAYS that Nicholas Stowte shall not coin or issue above the value of fortie pounds sterling in copper farthings until he be further authorised and that the aforesaid Nicholas Stowte shall paie unto any that shall demand for everie twenty two shillings in farthings twenty shillings current English money and so for greater or lesser sums. PROVIDED that in common exchange in the market or within the English Garrisons in the exchange of twelve pence there shall not be above one penny in farthings and it shall be lawful for any person to refuse more of said copper coin than one penny in the shilling.

The Governor of the town to proclaim this.

Dated at Corke
XX March 1645.

BROGHILL
W. FENTON."

This order sets at rest any doubt as to the authority for the issue of the coins of Youghal, and the direction that they were to pass current within the English Garrisons, the word being in the plural, leads to the natural inference that the similar copper coins issued in the other three towns were also struck under orders from the Council of Munster, which some day may be found. The similarity of the Cork shilling and sixpence and their date also point to a like origin for these coins.

Dr. Aquilla Smith's suggestion that Lord Inchiquin was concerned in the issue of the Cork shilling and sixpence may be correct, for as president of the Council of Munster he would no doubt, when available, have signed the proclamations.

In January, 1645-6, he was in London, successfully defending himself before Parliament against a charge of adhering to the King's cause.

On the 11th of June, 1646, when Lord Inchiquin appears still

¹ See Plate II, 3.

to have been in London, the English Joint Committee ordered¹ the Treasurer for Wars, from time to time, to pay out sums remitted to Ireland for the Irish service on the order of Lord Broghill, Vice-President of Munster, pending the arrival of Lord Inchiquin "without looking back upon any occasion or service past of what kind so ever."

Dr. Nelson² gives the weight of the Cork shilling as 69 grains, and that of the Cork sixpence as 34 grains, whilst Mr. Grueber³ gives the weights as 67·4 grains and 31·7. These weights show that the issue was to be current according to the Irish standard of about 70 grains to the shilling, which was a departure from the standard ordered to be used for the issues of the Lords Justices.

5. *The Rebel Money.*

Of this money—see Plate II, 4, for the halfcrown—Simon, after describing the Ormond money of 1643 at p. 47 says:—

There was another sort of money coined in this Kingdom without inscription, having on one side a plain cross and on the other side the value $\overset{s}{V}$, for five shillings and perhaps smaller, pieces. This is supposed to have been struck during the siege of Dublin in 1641,⁴ but from the cross imprinted on it I should rather think that it was coined in imitation of and opposition to the last mentioned, and much about the same time, by the Chiefs of the Rebels, who pretended to act under the King's authority, as appears by several of their petitions to the King in Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*.⁵

He then quotes the Kilkenny proclamation of 1642 and continues: "It seems, therefore, more probable that this coin was struck by the rebels by virtue of this act of their Assembly."

Simon does not illustrate the crown, but on Plate 8, No. 173, he illustrates the halfcrown, which is not mentioned in the text. An illustration of the crown appears on Plate I of the Supplement, No. 31.

¹ Cal. State Papers, Irish, vol. 260, p. 457.

² pp. 353-4.

³ pp. 237-8.

⁴ *Irish Historical Library*, p. 170.

⁵ *Ormond Letters*, pp. 47, 99, and 110; and *Life of Ormond*, vol. i, p. 380.

Ruding, in note 9 to p. 398, after quoting Simon's Essay, referring to the Kilkenny order of 1642, says :—

The date of this order for coinage does not agree with Simon's conjecture that the pieces above mentioned were struck in imitation of, and in opposition to, those coined in Dublin by virtue of the commission dated upon the 25th May, 1643, as it is not probable that the rebels would so long delay the coinage which they had announced. I have therefore referred these coins to the year 1642.

He illustrates a crown and halfcrown on Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lindsay, on p. 56, says that the coins, usually called the rebels' crown and halfcrown, were probably, as Simon supposes, struck in pursuance of the act of the assembly at Kilkenny in 1642, but as Ruding justly observes, it is probable that they were struck before, and not in imitation of, the Ormond money. The crown and half-crown are extremely rare.

Dr. Aquilla Smith describes the coins in section VII, p. 136, of his paper and continues :—

Bishop Nicholson, speaking of the crown-piece, says :— Whether this was coined at the siege of Dublin in 1641, Mr. Thoresby, who has one of the pieces, cannot surely inform us, but it is certain that soon after the rebellion there were some coined of a different stamp from those that afterwards had C · R · under a crown.¹ Harris says there is another Irish crown supposed to be minted about the same time as the Ormond money. It has on one side a plain cross and on the other V.²

After quoting Simon's Essay, Dr. Aquilla Smith points out that the peculiar form of the letter S over the V on one of the crowns is almost identical with the letter S on one of the varieties of the Ormond crown, and that the numerals on the reverse of the half-crowns, figures 3 and 4 of plate VI, are of the same size as those

¹ *Irish Historical Library*, 1724, p. 170.

² *Harris's Ware*, fol. 1745, vol. ii, p. 219.

of the Ormond halfcrown, figure 3 on a plate in an earlier article, whilst the inequality in the size of the numerals on the halfcrown published by Simon may be noticed also on the Ormond halfcrowns, figures 4 and 5, and the halfcrown, figure 7 of plate III.

That the rebel money was coined in imitation of the Ormond money is, Dr. Aquilla Smith continues, not only probable from the resemblance of type already noticed, but derives further confirmation from the substitution of the cross for the crown and letters C.R., which implies that the King's enemies were no longer disposed to coin money "with the ordinarie stampe" as on the Blacksmith's halfcrowns, described in section V of his paper, or of the standard weight of the coins made current by proclamation issued from the Castle of Dublin in 1643 under royal authority.

Mr. Grueber¹ describes the crown and halfcrown, and adds that "from its type it is evident that this money, which consists only of crowns and halfcrowns, is imitated from the Ormond money. On account of the substitution on the obverse of a cross for the royal initials and crown, it is supposed to have emanated from the rebels."

Dr. Nelson² adopts the view that the coins were struck by the Confederated Catholics during 1643, but previously to September the 15th, when peace was declared.

The main reasons given by these authors for attributing these coins to the Confederated Catholics are :—

1. That they ordered money to be struck.
2. That an issue different from the Ormond money was struck in 1643 ; and
3. That the Ormond money was imitated, substituting a cross for the crown over C.R.

It is suggested that these reasons are not sufficient to satisfactorily account for the issue. In the first place the type of these coins is not of "the ordinary stamp now current," and a type of coin of such ordinary stamp issued by the Confederated Catholics under the Proclamation of 1642 has been suggested earlier in this paper.

¹ p. 237.

² p. 348.

In the second place Mr. Thoresby, in referring to another issue different from the Ormond money, was no doubt referring to the Inchiquin crown and halfcrown with $\overset{s}{V}$ and $\overset{s}{II} \overset{D}{VI}$ respectively on both sides, which Dr. Aquilla Smith treats as a fraudulent issue made between the 5th of January, 1642, and the 25th of May, 1643, but Dr. Nelson describes as the third type of the Inchiquin money. If the latter is correct, there is no occasion to place the coins with the cross to the year 1643.

Lastly it seems improbable that, after the Ormond money was in circulation and the negotiations for peace were in progress, the Catholics would abandon the direction to make their money of the ordinary stamp and imitate the Ormond money. Nor is there any reason why, when imitating the Ormond money, they should have omitted the royal emblems.

The similarity between this money and the Ormond, and the Inchiquin money of type 3, pointed out by Dr. Aquilla Smith is so great that it is suggested that it also came from the same source, namely, Dublin Castle, and that it was struck at some date after the appointment of Colonel Michael Jones as Deputy Governor of the Castle by the English Parliament on the 18th of March, 1646-7.

It has already been shown that the parliamentary representatives in Munster allowed the issue of money of necessity in 1646 and 1647, and it is not improbable that Colonel Michael Jones caused or allowed an issue to be made in Dublin Castle with the tools used for the Ormond money. It seems likely that the issue was made before 1650, for, as shown later, Lord Ormond appears to have struck what is called the Dublin Money of Charles II after November, 1649; and to have used the tools with which the Ormond money was made for the purpose.

Lord Ormond had some dispute as to what royal property he should take with him from the Castle. He claimed, but apparently was not allowed to take, the ensigns of royalty, including the sword of state. The mint tools are not mentioned. If he did use them in 1650, it is probable that he took them when he left the Castle in

July, 1647. In that case the issue by Colonel Michael Jones must have been made before that date.

About this time, 1647, Ormond was negotiating for the King with the Parliamentarians, and it would be natural for the Parliamentarians on any issue of money to abandon the type of the royal crown over C.R., substituting therefor the English sign, the cross of St. George. This cross became the main feature of the English Commonwealth money which was directed to be struck by an Act of Parliament dated the 17th July, 1649.¹

This cross on the Irish coins bears no resemblance to the cross on the seal of the Confederated Catholics, p. 190, and may well have been intended for the English cross, especially if the coins were issued before any of the Commonwealth money reached Dublin. That the cross from the Commonwealth money was soon adopted in Ireland is shown by that on a shield on the tokens of Cork illustrated by Lindsay, plate 7, numbers 152 and 153, and by Mr. Grueber as plate LXII, number 98; and by the cross on two small tokens figured in Snelling's first additional plate to *Simon*, numbers 38 and 39, one reading KER, which is supposed to stand for Kerry. Heraldically the form may be inaccurate, but so late as in 1654 the Commonwealth cross appears on an English token as fourchée.²

The light weight of the money with the cross—Dr. Nelson gives the weight of a crown as 376 grains, of a halfcrown as 188 grains—rather points to an unauthorised issue, but it may have been necessitated by a scarcity of silver.

In the Talbot Ready Sale Catalogue, 1920, lot 851, a note to the Rebel halfcrown there described says, "From two chisel cuts on the reverse it can be seen that this piece has a copper centre," which fact confirms the suggestion that the so-called Rebel money was issued by the Dublin Castle officials, because, as already explained, they were in the habit of issuing coins of the Ormond type with copper centres.

¹ *Ruding*, p. 410.

² *Montagu*, p. 31.

6. *The Blacksmith's Halfcrown.*

These coins, Plate II, fig. 5, are not attributed to Ireland by Simon or Lindsay. Snelling,¹ in his account of the coins from unknown mints in the reign of Charles I, observes that :—

Amongst the very great variety of this King's money, although we meet with many very rude and of bad workmanship, yet we think none of them comes up to the halfcrown No. 13, the barbarous work of which was certainly that of a smith and not of an engraver.

Ruding, in plate XXVI, number 5, reproduces Folkes's illustration, and in volume ii, p. 330, says, in a note :—

Very poor workmanship No account has yet occurred of its place of mintage. It is called the Blacksmith's halfcrown from its rude workmanship. Mr. Willett has a halfcrown of the Exurgat money the workmanship of which is equally rude.

Hawkins described three varieties, but does not attribute the issue to Ireland. Dr. Aquilla Smith² was the first to suggest this attribution. The grounds upon which he based his conclusion were :
1. The statements in the Confederated Catholics' proclamation of 1642, that "a halfcrown piece do pass henceforth for 10 groats," no mention being made of a crown, and that the plate was to be coined "with the ordinarie stamp used in the monies now currant."
2. That the cross mint-mark was similar to the cross on the rebel crown and halfcrown. 3. That the harp mint-mark was similar to the harp mint-mark on some of the Confederated copper halfpennies; and 4. That the harp in the arms resembled that on the halfpennies. He also points out that the letters have been cut with a graving tool like the copper coins, and not made with punches as was the case in the English coinage.

Mr. Grueber³ places the Blacksmith's halfcrown among the Irish coins of 1642, and says :—

The date of the issue of these halfcrowns is somewhat uncertain, but it is possible that they were struck in conformity

¹ *Silver coins*, 1762, p. 42.

² p. 135.

³ p. 236.

to the order of the Confederated Catholics of the 15th of November, 1642, which directed that the plate of this kingdom be coined with the ordinarie stamp used in the monies now current. They have of late times received the appellation of 'Blacksmith' halfcrowns on account of their very rude workmanship. No other denominations are known of this coinage.

Dr. Nelson¹ says :—

By the excellent researches of Dr. Aquilla Smith we are now satisfactorily enabled also to assign to Kilkenny those silver pieces which from their rudeness of execution are known as "Blacksmith's halfcrowns." They were struck at Kilkenny to the amount of £4000 under the ordinance of 1642.

Dr. Nelson has overlooked the terms of the order, namely, that the coins to be struck to the amount of £4000 were not silver coins, but the red copper halfpennies and farthings. This does not appear in the inaccurate summary of the order which he sets out from *Rymer*. See our p. 192.

Should the attribution of the square shilling to the coins struck under the proclamation of 1642 be correct, the chief argument of Dr. Aquilla Smith falls to the ground.

On the 8th of August, 1649, the Marquis of Ormond issued the following warrant from Kilkenny :—²

ORMONDE—

WE DO HEREBY authorise you, our well beloved Thomas Reade, to erect His Ma^{ty} Mint in the City of Kilkenny or elsewhere as you shall see or find convenient for the coyning of gould and silver according to the way manner and form formerly used in England and we desire the Mayor and Aldermen of the said City of Kilkenny, or the Mayor and Aldermen of any other city or place where you shall come, to furnish and afford you a place convenient to erect his ma^{ty} mint in, and all other their assistants wth fitting and necessary accomodacons. Kilkenny 8th August 1649.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, p. 331.

² *Carte papers*, vol. clxii, p. 12, at the Bodleian.

This document was referred to at a meeting, in 1873, of the Kilkenny Society, and is reported in vol. i of the third series of the *Proceedings* of the Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland by Mr. Graves, who stated that as Cromwell took Kilkenny in March, 1650, it was probable that the contemplated mint was never set up.

It is possible that we have here the explanation of the Blacksmith's halfcrowns. The dies must have been made under difficulties, but nevertheless the coin is, so far as was possible, "according to the way manner and form formerly used in England." It is to be noted that the order does not direct the use of any new legend referring to the succession of Charles II. The weight conforms well with the English standard of the Tower mint of 231 grains. The short time at Reade's disposal would account for the issue of money of only one denomination, although he appears to have had to make several dies. It may be that Reade was the man who made the dies for the Kilkenny copper halfpennies and farthings, and thus the similarity in style referred to by Dr. Aquilla Smith would be accounted for.

The harp was a natural mint-mark to adopt, but the cross as a mint-mark would seem to have no particular significance. It will be seen that a similar mark appears at the end of the legend on the seal of the Confederated Catholics.

For these reasons it is suggested that the Blacksmith's halfcrown should henceforth be regarded as having been made for the Royalists by Reade at Kilkenny in 1649.

7. The "Dublin" Crown and Halfcrown—Charles II.

The halfcrown is illustrated as Plate II, 6.

In Snelling's supplement to *Simon* he states that the halfcrown there engraved as Plate I, 36, and the crown of Charles II, Plate I, 37 :—

were first published by Mr. Folkes but he could never learn where or upon what occasion they were struck, neither have we [writes Snelling] been able to gain any intelligence relating to them. However, we think from the manner of the pieces, that they were struck in Ireland, and in the interval between his [Charles II's] father's death and his own restoration.

Ruding, under date 1660,¹ considers it probable that they were struck in Ireland by the Marquis of Ormond, who proclaimed Charles II as King in all places which owned his authority within about a fortnight after his father's death, for in type they were exactly similar to the money coined in Dublin by the authority of Charles I in 1643.

Lindsay,² upon the authority of Snelling, merely supposes that the pieces were struck by this King between his father's death and his own restoration.

Dr. Aquilla Smith does not refer to these coins at all and Mr. Grueber adds nothing to Ruding's suggestion.

Dr. Nelson's statement³ is that :—

Subsequently to the execution of Charles I, money of necessity was issued in Ireland, though at what date and whence no information now exists. Two pieces occur, namely, crown and halfcrown, which are believed to have been struck at Dublin in 1649 by James, Marquis of Ormond, who proclaimed Charles II as King in Ireland.

Dr. Aquilla Smith states, in his articles on the Ormond money,⁴ that the Marquis was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the 17th of November, 1643, and was sworn in on the 21st of January, 1643-4. On the 19th of June, 1647, he delivered up the government to the Parliamentary Commissioners but resumed office on the 27th of September, 1648, and continued to be Chief Governor of Ireland until the arrival of Oliver Cromwell on the 17th of February, 1648-9. Colonel Jones had been recommended by the English Joint Parliamentary Committee on the 13th of March, 1647, for appointment as Deputy Governor of Dublin Castle and of all the forces in the garrisons in Ireland. On the 23rd of May, 1648, ships were ordered to take money to Dublin to Colonel Jones.

It does not seem likely, therefore, that the Marquis of Ormond, after proclaiming the accession of Charles II, would have been able to issue these coins from Dublin. The explanation of the issue is

¹ Vol. ii, p. 1.

² p. 58.

³ p. 355.

⁴ *Kilkenny Society*, ser. i, vol. iii, p. 16.

to be found in the following interesting letter in the State Papers, Ireland, volume 282, number 16, from Charles II to the Marquis of Ormond, dated the 13th of November, 1649 :—

To our right Trusty and Right well beloved Cosen and Councillor the Marquis of Ormond, our Lieutenant of our Kingdome of Ireland.

CHARLES R.¹

Duplicat.

Right Trusty and Right welbeloved cosen and councillor, we greete you, well understanding that it many times happens that our shippes employed at sea against the rebells do meete with Prizes wherein there is bullion and forraigne coyne of which they cannot make such use and advantage for paying of seamen, or supplying our said ships with victualls and other necessary provisions, as if the same were turned into money of our stamp and standard. AND WHEREAS there may be many occasions for reinforcing or supplying our ships and Fleete with seamen and marriners : we have therefore thought it necessary by these our Letters to desire you to take present order that when our dear cousin Prince Rupert (admirall of all our ships now at sea) shall desire it, that such Officers of our Mint in that our Kingdome, together with all requisite utensills stamps and Instruments for Coyning, may be sent to such Port or place in that our Kingdome as shall be requisite for coyning of such Bullion and forraigne coyne as he shall bring to be there put into money. And we likewise further desire you presently to give order to all Officers in any our Ports and creekes in that our Kingdome, to give all possible and ready assistance to such persons as our said dear Cosen shall employe for the pressing of such seamen and Marriners as according to his instructions he shall from time to time thinke fitt. For all which these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Castle Elizabeth
in our Isle of Jersey this 13th of November
in the first year of our Reigne. Anno
Domini 1649.

¹ Sign-manual.

The reference in the letter to the royal mint in Ireland, evidently is to that in Dublin Castle, and it is suggested that the coins were made with the tools formerly in use there.

It is interesting to note that the height of the first I in II·VI^{s D} of this issue is the same as that of the last I on the Ormond II·VI^{s D}, while the height of the last I in II·VI^{s D} in this issue is the same as that of the last I in II·VI^{s D} of the so-called Rebel issue.

It is hardly likely that the King would have so specifically referred to the tools unless he had been previously informed that they were under Lord Ormond's control.

At any rate the letter shows that Lord Ormond had authority from Charles II to make the issue, and naturally he adopted the type of the previous Irish royal issue, adding, however, the legends to show the succession of Charles II. The English standard of weight was well maintained.

Another coin which may perhaps have been issued by the Royalists or the Confederated Catholics soon after the succession of Charles II, has been brought to the writer's notice by Mr. L. L. Fletcher. It is in his collection, and may be described as follows :—

Obverse : CAROLVS · II · DG · MAG · BRIT. An imperial crown ; the whole within a circle of dots.

Reverse : FRA · ET · HIB REX. A smaller imperial crown ; the whole within a circle of dots. In the field below the crown a circular countermark enclosing a crown. Copper : ·90 of an inch ; weight 77 grains. Plate II, 7.

A similar but evidently badly struck coin is illustrated by Lindsay, 1839, supplemental Plate IV, No. 90, and described in the table on p. 100. The weight of that specimen is given as only 38½ grains.

This coin bears some resemblance to the countermarked Kilkenny halfpennies. The absence of the harp on the reverse makes it unlikely that the coin was issued by the Confederated Catholics, while the King's letter to Lord Ormond only refers to the coinage of bullion, so that perhaps the Rev. H. Christmas, 1862, and Dr. Nelson, 1904 and 1905, were right in not referring to it in their papers on Irish coins.

ST. PATRICK'S MONEY.

Before concluding it is necessary to refer to the halfpennies and farthings known as St. Patrick's money. Both denominations have upon the obverse a king kneeling with a harp before him, with the legend "Floreat Rex," and upon the reverse the figure of St. Patrick with the legend on the larger piece of "Ecce grex," and on the smaller of "Quiescat plebs." They are illustrated as figures 12, 13 and 14 of plate II to Dr. Nelson's paper in the first volume of this *Journal*.

Evelyn, in 1697, and Thoresby, in 1715, placed these coins among those of Charles II. Bishop Nicholson, in 1724, and Leake, in 1726, placed them among those of Charles I, the latter suggesting that they were struck by the Confederated Catholics. Simon, in 1749, agreed with this, and suggested that the specimens in silver were struck under the order of 1642 as shillings.

Dr. Robert Cane¹ suggested that they were minted upon the Continent, and brought over by the Nuncio Rinuccini for the use of the Confederate Assembly.

Mr. W. Frazer, in 1895,² suggested that the coins were struck by Briot and Ramage under the order of Charles I when the mint was at Oxford, and were taken to Ireland by the Earl of Glamorgan for the payment of the troops he was sent to raise there in 1643, from the ranks of the Confederated Catholics for service in England. That, as his mission failed, the coins were not used, and in 1681 were taken by Mark Newby to New Jersey.

Dr. Aquilla Smith,³ after dealing with the earlier suggestions, came to the conclusion that the coins were issued as private tokens in Dublin at some time between 1673 and 1680, when royal copper halfpennies were coined for Ireland.

Dr. Nelson, in 1905,⁴ considered that they were struck in Dublin in 1678, and pointed out that their circulation was prohibited in the Isle of Man in 1679.

¹ *Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 442.

² *Ibid.*, series v, vol. v, p. 338.

³ *Ibid.*, 1854, vol. iii, p. 67.

⁴ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 184.

Mr. W. S. Ogden, in 1907,¹ agrees with Dr. Nelson that the pieces were issued in 1678, and suggests that they were struck for political purposes by the Catholic party, with a view to the approaching restoration of the Catholic Church.

There can be little doubt that the St. Patrick's money had no connection with the Irish rebellion, and that it is now rightly dated about 1678. Apart from other arguments, it does not seem likely that such heavy copper pieces would have been put into circulation before the issue of the regal halfpenny of Charles II in 1672.

The suggestion of Mr. Frazer that the coins were connected with the English royal mint in 1643 must be discarded, but it is curious to note that pieces of brass were used in making the copper rose-farthing issued in London from 1635, and that pieces of brass were used to draw attention to the King's Crown on the St. Patrick's money.

SUMMARY.

It will be difficult to alter the description by which the coins of the Rebellion have become so well known, but it is suggested that in future the following new terms should be substituted for those now in use :—

Old description.	New description.
1. Kilkenny Money.	The Confederated Catholics' issues.
2. Inchiquin Money.	The Lords Justices' First Issue, 1642.
3. Ormond Money.	The Lords Justices' Second Issue, 1643.
4. Town pieces.	The Parliamentary Munster issues.
5. Rebel crown and halfcrown.	The Parliamentary Dublin issue, 1648.
6. Blacksmith's halfcrown.	The Royalist Kilkenny halfcrown, 1649.
7. Dublin crown and halfcrown.	The Royalist Charles II issue.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iii, p. 219.

The writer does not pretend that the subject is by any means exhausted, and it is hoped that other members with more knowledge of the history and coinage of the period will discover further material which will put the classification of the various issues beyond doubt.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate I.

1. Confederated Catholics' farthing, 1642. "Kilkenny."
2. " halfpenny " "
3. " countermarked halfpenny, 1642.
4. " shilling, 1642.
5. " halfcrown, 1642.
6. Charles I Tower shilling. Mint-mark, triangle-in-circle.
7. " " halfcrown " "
8. Lords Justices' first issue, 1642. Type 1. "Inchiquin."
9. " " " " 4. "Lathom House."
10. " " " " 3. "Inchiquin."

Plate II.

1. Lords Justices' second issue, 1643. "Ormond."
2. Parliamentary Munster issue, Cork farthing.
3. " " " Youghal farthing.
4. Parliamentary Dublin issue, 1648, halfcrown. "Rebel."
5. Royalist Kilkenny halfcrown, 1649. "Blacksmith's."
6. Royalist Charles II issue, halfcrown. "Dublin."
7. Uncertain Charles II farthing.

A CUT NEW ENGLAND THREEPENCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

THE coin illustrated below appears to be a genuinely cut threepenny-piece made by division of the Massachusetts or New England shilling into four parts. Its weight is $18\frac{1}{2}$ grains, which is half a grain over the weight of the round threepenny-piece, and its fine condition is such as to preclude the idea that it is a shilling cut into four parts in modern times, since the whole coin in this condition would be much more valuable than the four sections. In view of the fact that round threepenny pieces were struck in Massachusetts in fair numbers, it is improbable



CUT THREEPENCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

that this cut coin circulated in that State of New England; but, as is well known,¹ the device of segmentising alien coins for small currency was at one time almost universal in the West Indian Islands, which, with rare exceptions, had no native money in metal for a long period, using instead the currency of the surrounding countries, chiefly Spanish coins. There seems no doubt, therefore, that this coin was cut for circulation in the West Indian Islands. The question arises as to which island or group of islands the coin belongs.

¹ On this subject see Mr. J. B. Caldecott's paper, "The Spanish Dollar as adapted for Currency in our West Indian Colonies," vol. i, pp. 287-298.

Some light on the subject will, I think, be obtained by a perusal of the currency Acts of the various islands. The first date of issue of the whole coin, of which the cut piece under notice forms a part, was 1652, although it should be mentioned that coins bearing this same date were struck in succeeding years for a considerable period. Now in 1670 an Act regulating the metallic currency of Montserrat, one of the Leeward Islands group, states that all New England money shall pass and be received by all manner of persons residing upon this island at its full value in New England.¹

A similar enactment was passed in 1672 at two other islands of this group—Antigua and Nevis—and the Nevis Act further stated that all money coined in New England, and there called shillings, sixpences, threepences, twopences, and pence, shall also pass current in this island for the like value as the same in New England.¹

Here we have clear evidence that the Massachusetts money circulated in the Leeward Islands. As before mentioned, the main places of origin of cut coins were the islands of the West Indies, and a fairly large proportion of such coins can be allocated to their particular places of issue by the name or initials stamped upon them. The cut coin of this article is, however, unmarked, but so far as the Leeward Islands group is concerned there is documentary evidence that unmarked cut coins were largely in use in that group, for, by an Act of 1801, it was ruled that in the Virgin Islands, which had been added to the original group, all holders of round or cut pieces of money should bring them to a committee to be stamped under their inspection and reissued. The committee were to provide a proper stamp, and the stamped coins were to pass at the same rates and values as before.² A similar Act, judged by its title, was passed in the same year in St. Kitts,² and as regards Montserrat it is on record that dollars and other Spanish coins were cut by order of the legislature. As is well known, Dominica

¹ *A History of Currency in the British Colonies*, by Robert Chalmers, 1893, p. 64.

² *Colonial Currency*, p. 75.

and Nevis, two more islands of the group, seem to have had a fairly prolific issue of cut coins, and it is possibly the fact that all the Leeward Islands took the same action as that on record for the Virgin Islands.

From the above there emerge the three cardinal facts—that the islands comprising the Leeward group used Massachusetts money ; that, to make small change, some of the larger denominations of the coins were cut ; that in some of the islands, if not in all, the cut money was used at first unmarked. Mr. Howland Wood, of the American Numismatic Society, and an authority on the coinages of the West Indies, wrote recently in a letter to me upon this coin :—

This is the first specimen of which I have heard, much less have seen. I do not know that these pieces were ever cut in Massachusetts. I consider your piece perfectly genuine, and I agree with you that it was cut in the West Indies.

Having regard to the references in the various coinage Acts relating to the Leeward Islands, the inference is very strong that the cut coin under notice belongs to that group.

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OF THE

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SESSIONS 1918-19-20.

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-

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by John Sanford Saltus, now Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.

The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1918.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 16th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President announced the resignation¹ of Mr. W. J. Andrew, as Secretary of the Society and Editor of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and the appointment of Mr. H. B. Earle Fox as his successor. He also moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Andrew for his great services to the Society, and it was carried unanimously.

The President presented to Mr. L. A. Lawrence the John Sanford Saltus medal, which had been awarded to him by the vote of the Anniversary Meeting. In making the presentation, Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson said :—

“ Mr. Lawrence, last June, when Sir Arthur Evans presented you with the medal of the Royal Numismatic Society, he enumerated your many services to our science. It is, however, in two of them that our members are particularly interested, namely, the elucidation of the short- and

¹ See pp. 254 and 289.

long-cross coinages. So much have they appreciated this that they have voted you the John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal, which I now, on behalf of the Society, and with much pleasure to myself, place in your hands. I have also to congratulate you on having made a record in gaining in the same year the only two medals given in this country for numismatic research. May these successes lead you to further exertions in solving more numismatic problems."

Mr. Lawrence made a short reply, expressing his thanks.

Presentation.

By Mr. D. Glendining : a Dutch black-letter book, in the original vellum binding and ties, on the outside whereof is inscribed (in Dutch), "Valuation Book of 1548, 1551, 1559." This book, which was published at Ghent, contains many illustrations of the gold and silver coins current at the period and numerous regulations concerning currency and exchange. The English pieces figured run from Edward IV to Edward VI, and several Scottish coins are also illustrated.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Glendining for this interesting book.

Paper.

THE TOWER SHILLINGS OF CHARLES I.

In continuation of his series on the issues from the Tower Mint of Charles I, Mr. Grant R. Francis read a paper dealing with the shillings, which he illustrated by an exhibition of ninety-six specimens, and sketches of twenty varieties of the Irish harp in the royal arms. He regretted that the enormous output of shillings made it impossible for him to claim completeness such as he was able to substantiate with regard to the die varieties of the crown, and pointed out the shortcomings of Hawkins's standard work, in which many varieties are neither enumerated nor described.

Whilst agreeing with the allocation of certain of the shillings

with the mint-mark cross-Calvary to the light issue made under the commission of Charles I, of August 14th, 1626, and commented upon by Mr. Henry Symonds in a paper read before the Royal Numismatic Society on "Some Light Coins of Charles I," Mr. Francis was unable to suggest any method of classing these light coins as a distinct issue, in view of the fact that many specimens had suffered so much at the hands of clippers and filers as to make it impossible to attribute them definitely.

Several very rare varieties were commented upon, the most interesting of which was a coin of Type 1c, with the mint-mark negro's head, which showed the three lower arms of the cross fourchée extended to the outer edge of the coin—the only instance that had come under the lecturer's notice of a coin with the plume over the shield being so decorated. A shilling with the mint-mark harp, Type 3b, exhibited by Mr. Francis, and a shilling with the mint-mark tun, of the same type, exhibited by the President, were believed to be the only specimens known.

Special attention was directed to a shilling of Tower workmanship, with the mint-mark anchor, which bore undoubted traces of Briot's design, and in this connection a reference was made to two curious half-crowns with similar peculiarities in Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson's and Miss Farquhar's collections, and to a triangle-in-circle crown in the British Museum, which have been described in previous papers.

The President pointed out that the great importance of the paper lay in the discovery of two hitherto unknown varieties, namely, the shilling with the mint-mark harp, with plumed shield on the reverse, and that with mint-mark anchor with the head by Briot. He congratulated Mr. Francis on the care and ability disclosed by his paper.

Selections of coins in illustration of the paper were also exhibited by the President, Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton and Mr. William Dale.

The paper was printed in volume xiv of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 27th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Exhibits.

- By Mr. L. A. Lawrence : A selection of silver coins of Edward III, including the scarce transitional type of 1360, an exceptionally beautiful penny of the type of 1360-69, London halfpennies of the 1351-60 and 1360-69 issues, and three farthings of the same coinages, one of which, of 1360-69, is apparently the first of its type to be made known.
- By the President : 1 gold, 205 silver, and 46 copper coins, proofs, and patterns of Charles II, in illustration of his paper.
- By Mr. F. A. Walters : A crown of Charles II, of 1681, with the elephant and castle under the bust.
- By Mr. G. R. Francis : A crown of 1678, a half-crown of 1681, with the elephant and castle under the bust, a half-crown of 1684, a shilling of 1675 with the large head, and a number of less rare coins of Charles II in exceptionally beautiful condition.
- By Mr. William Dale : A very fine halfpenny of Charles II, which was tendered to him by an omnibus conductor for a penny in 1884.
- By Mr. H. W. Taffs : An abnormally light farthing of Charles II, weighing but $38\frac{1}{2}$ grains though in fine condition, and fine specimens of several scarce coins of the reign.
- By Mr. L. L. Fletcher : Two jettons of Charles II.

Paper.

THE COINAGE OF CHARLES II.

The President read a paper on the numismatic history of Charles II, whose reign, he remarked, will always be celebrated for two events: the supersession of the hammer by the mill and screw in the coining of money, and the introduction of a just and proper copper coinage. The subject was treated under three heads: 1, the hammered coins; 2, the milled coinage; 3, the copper coinage.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson divided the hammered coins of 1660 to 1662 into six issues. 1, without mint-mark, numerals expressing value, or inner circle. 2, with the mint-mark crown, which is found on all the remaining issues, but in other respects resembling the first. 3, as the second, but with numerals showing the value of the coin. This issue took place after November, 1661, for in that month an order was published directing that the coins should bear marks of value. 4, with both numerals and inner circle. 5, and 6, small pieces of maundy money. The gold coins extant are of the second and third issues, but silver coins exist of all. Innovations in this coinage were the substitution of a wreath for a crown on the gold coins, and the appearance of a crowned bust, instead of an equestrian portrait, on the half-crown. The engraver of the dies was the celebrated Simon, and the whole series brings the hammered coinage to an artistic close.

The milled coins marked the change from renaissance to classical style. The guinea now made its first appearance, and was so called from the fact that the gold, from which many of them were struck, was brought from the Guinea coast. The lecturer dealt at considerable length with the silver coins. Many dies were used, generally differing from one another in the number of strings in the Irish harp, and, contrary to what might have been expected, the size of the flans varied considerably, especially in the shillings.

The copper coinage was commenced in 1672 by the issue of halfpence and farthings, which were made of pure Swedish copper and were coined at the rate of 175 grains to the halfpenny and $87\frac{1}{2}$ grains to the farthing—a great change from previous reigns,

when the weight of the farthing varied from 4 to 14·5 grains. In 1684, in order to increase the revenue by raising the value of tin, which had fallen to a low price, farthings were struck in that metal with a plug of copper in the centre. With regard to the patterns, particular attention was paid to those bearing the legend QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO, the reverse of which bore a figure of Britannia that has remained unchanged, in its principal features, to this day, and for which the Duchess of Richmond posed as model. It is probable that this pattern would have been adopted had not Louis XIV, it is said, objected to the legend and used his influence to obtain its suppression. However that may be, the coins issued for currency, in 1672, substituted the word BRITANNIA for the proud claim of dominion of the seas.

A short reference was made to a regal issue of halfpence for Ireland in the years 1680-1684.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 27th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Presentations.

Animism and Folk Lore of the Guiana Indians, by Walter E. Roth, presented by Mr. E. A. V. Abraham.

The Numismatic Circular, vol. xxv, presented by Messrs. Spink.

A vote of thanks was passed to these donors.

Exhibits.

By Mr. W. Sharp Ogden: Groat of Peter I, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, 1359-69, showing on the reverse the arms of Jerusalem, a cross potent between four crosslets.

By Mr. Henry Garside : Copper proofs of the quarter-anna, half-pice and twelfth of an anna, of Dhar State, India, all dated 1887.

Paper.

THE FIRST COINAGE OF HENRY II.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., being unfortunately prevented from attending the meeting, his paper on "The First Coinage of Henry II, commonly known as the 'Tealby' Type," was read by the Secretary. This coinage, which extended over a period of about twenty-five years, is one of the most puzzling in the whole range of English numismatics, for, although the pennies are of good weight and standard, and the dies of fairly good workmanship, the flans are so irregular in shape, and the striking is so carelessly done, that very few specimens show anything approaching a complete type or legend. Of the half-dozen finds which have been recorded, the greater part, and notably that most important hoard after which the issue is commonly named, date back to a period when the importance of detail was not sufficiently recognized by numismatists ; little was done beyond recording the names of the more legible of the mints and moneyers, and the existence of several quite distinct types of bust was ignored. Mr. Lawrence had, therefore, to do what was virtually pioneer work, and, although he may possibly modify his conclusions in some matters of detail as fresh coins come to light, he claims to have laid down a practical working basis. It is impossible, without the aid of illustration, to make clear the numerous subdivisions of the obverse type—the reverse remains practically unchanged throughout the issue—which Mr. Lawrence has classified in their probable chronological order, but he has shown conclusively that a long-faced bust, always drawn without hair, and with a strip of pearls running down the king's left shoulder, must be placed at the beginning of the series. This variety reads **HENRI REX ANGL**, or **ANGL**, and lacks the colon stops which usually, though not invariably, divide the words on the later varieties. Its place is practically proved by the Awbridge hoard,

which included thirty-four coins of Stephen's last type, thirty-seven of this, and only twenty-eight altogether of eleven subsequent variations. Next, he believes, comes a bust, slightly inclined towards the dexter side, which gives a shorter, fatter face of the King, with curls of hair on his left temple, a crown not so tall as that of the preceding class, and more elaborate drapery, often adorned with one or more trefoils of pellets, but always without the strip of pearls on the left shoulder, which, indeed, never reappears. On this class **REX** is always reduced to **R**, the name of the country never exceeds two letters, and the words of the legend are separated by colons.

Mr. Lawrence gives the third place to what is virtually a reversion to the first design, though little of the bust is shown, the strip of pearls is omitted, and there are sometimes, though not often, traces of hair. **REX** is again spelt in full, and there are no colons. From this point onward the developments are practically impossible to follow without the aid of diagrams or photographs, but he subdivided at least four more classes, some of which occasionally have a Lombardic **α**, a sure sign of late date.

After the reading of the paper a brief discussion took place and it was suggested by Mr. H. A. Parsons that the third variety, as classified by Mr. Lawrence, so closely resembled the first that it probably followed it. Mr. Earle Fox said he understood from Mr. Lawrence that the succession of moneymen at the St. Edmund's mint was incompatible with this theory; but, in the regretted absence of the author, it was impossible to go further into the question. Mr. Sharp Ogden drew attention to the arrangement of crosses in the reverse type, which was practically identical with that of the arms subsequently borne by the kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and recalled the fact that King Henry was the grandson of Fulc, King of Jerusalem from 1131 to 1144.

The paper was printed in volume xiv of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 24th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Exhibitions.

By the Marquess of Milford Haven : A large and choice collection of naval medals, in illustration of his paper.

By Mr. Charles Winter : A silver medal of the Commonwealth ; obverse, an anchor with shields of England and Ireland encircled by a rope ; above, MERVISTI. Reverse, a ship engaging two frigates, four others in the offing, SERVICE · DON · AGAINST · SIX · SHIPS · IVLY · Y · XXXI & AVGVST · Y · I · 1650.

A gold medal, H.M.S. "Prometheus," July 7th, 1809, presented to Matthew Cezey, boatswain, for bravery in the action off Percola Point, Finland.

By Mr. W. C. Wells : Twelve portrait medals of Admiral Lord Rodney.

By Major Freer : Photograph and medals of Admiral Sir Edward Collier, K.C.B.

By Miss Helen Farquhar : Charles II, Naval Reward, by John Roettiers ; William III, Battle of La Hogue medal.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs : The rare Tassie gem with the head of Nelson.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence : Two cast medals, said to have been issued to commemorate the supremacy of Parliament, 1642, with, on the reverse, a ship in full sail.

By Mr. Henry Garside : Money of Newfoundland issued in 1917, and bearing on the reverse the letter C, for Canada.

Paper.

MEDALLIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF NAVAL HISTORY.

The Marquess of Milford Haven read a paper on "Medallic Illustrations of Naval History." Passing briefly over those allusions

to sea power and sea battles which are to be found on numerous ancient coins, both Greek and Roman, among others on those of Carausius and Allectus, who assumed the purple in Britain toward the close of the third century, the lecturer recalled that the republics of Genoa and Venice were the first powers to make practical use of the medallic art, and that the first great naval event thus celebrated was the battle of Lepanto, fought in 1571, when the combined fleets of Christendom defeated those of the Moslem. The first English naval medals commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada, but slightly in advance of them, in point of date, is the curious engraved plate, made for Sir Francis Drake in the Netherlands, in 1586, as a record of his famous voyage round the world. But four specimens of this remarkable work, which were probably presented by the famous seaman to his friends, now survive, and one of these, in its original leather case, was exhibited by the lecturer. The Armada medals of Queen Elizabeth, and some other pieces commemorative of successes against the Spaniards during her reign, were probably distributed as mementoes, and it is not until the time of the Commonwealth that we find medals struck by order of Parliament to be used as naval rewards. These were the work of that great engraver, Thomas Simon, and in 1653 a gold medal in three classes, for flag officers, captains, and officers of lower rank, was issued in connection with the British victories over the Dutch. The Dutch wars of Charles II furnish several notable medals, and at about the same time the East India Company began to bestow medallic rewards upon such captains of its ships as distinguished themselves in the actions which they were often called upon to fight. The reign of James II, himself an admiral previous to his accession to the throne, was not unnaturally marked by several naval medals, and thenceforward their number steadily increases. The battle of La Hogue, in which the Anglo-Dutch fleet practically destroyed that of France, was the subject of about thirty medals, and many bombardments of Channel ports during the next few years are recorded in the same way. Under Queen Anne there is no falling off, and the coinage itself is made to serve a medallic

purpose, for the name of VIGO is placed under the queen's bust on gold and silver pieces struck from bullion captured from the Spaniards. Queen Anne not only struck many naval medals, but, for the first time in our history, bestowed them on men of the fleet. The reign of George I shows little of note, but in that of his son the many medals struck by Pinchbeck, in the metal named after himself, show how popular this form of commemoration had become. The war with France, at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth, naturally gave the occasion for many medals, including—largest group of all—those struck in honour of the immortal Nelson. These had their beginning in 1798, after the battle of the Nile, and so numerous are they that the lecturer's collection includes some three score, to say nothing of numerous tokens on which the glory of the hero was recorded. One of the first of them was the medal struck by Mr. A. Davison, Nelson's agent and friend, for distribution in the squadron which fought at the Nile. Most interesting is a gold badge, exhibited by the lecturer, bearing Nelson's bust and inscribed with the date of the battle of Copenhagen. The only other known specimen of this, in the possession of Dr. Payne, of Sheffield, has engraved on the back CAPT. GEO. MURRAY, H.M.S. EDGAR. The final stage of the Great War is marked by a medal showing Napoleon, a prisoner, on board H.M.S. "Bellerophon."

This paper was printed in volume xiii of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 22nd, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Poyser was elected a member of the Society.

Presentation.

"Il Nuovo Sistema Monetario Cinese," by C. Poma, by the author.

A vote of thanks was passed to the donor.

Exhibitions.

- By Mr. L. A. Lawrence: Twenty-two silver counters in illustration of his paper.
- By Miss Helen Farquhar: Two silver counter boxes, each containing thirty-six counters: and several other engraved counters, to the number of eighty-eight in all.
- By Mr. H. A. Parsons: A brass counter of Richard II. Obverse, full-length figure of the king, legend **REX AN**; reverse, a quatrefoil enclosing a cross, **R R** at each of the points of the quatrefoil.
- By Mr. F. A. Walters: A half-crown of Charles I, of the Sand-foot Castle, Weymouth, mint; obverse, mint-mark lys, **RX** for **REX**; reverse, mint-mark a boar's head, **CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNA** (*sic*).

*Paper.***SILVER COUNTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.**

Mr. Lawrence exhibited and described an incomplete set of silver counters showing London tradesmen and their cries, hitherto quite unknown, consisting of twenty-one different counters and one duplicate. The counters are all numbered, and those shown included Nos. 33 and 34. Mr. Lawrence considered that as counters they were to be compared, as regards numbers, size, period and provenance with the only other counters known to run in sets, namely, those of the Sovereigns of England, with full-length and half-length portraits. These were about the same size, in sets of thirty-six, and were made in the second quarter of the seventeenth century by a process sometimes described as struck in imitation of engraving, sometimes as engraving. Whatever the process used, the counters exhibited fell into line with the known sets. Like them, they were copied from prints, and Mr. Lawrence considered himself very fortunate in having found, in the British Museum, the set of prints which had supplied the models. Photographs of these were exhibited with the counters, and comparisons and differences pointed out.

Mr. Lawrence also referred to Miss Helen Farquhar's paper in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, volume xvi, 4th series, 1916, which contains much interesting matter concerning the manufacture of counters of this period.

Miss Helen Farquhar took part in the short discussion which followed, and exhibited some most interesting photographs throwing light on the methods employed in the manufacture of these counters.

Mr. Lawrence's paper was printed in volume xiv of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 26th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Egbert Steinthal was re-elected a member of the Society.

Presentations.

"The Provincial Token Coinage," part xiv, by the authors,
Mr. R. Dalton and Mr. S. H. Hamer.

"The Medals of British Freemasonry," by the author,
Mr. W. J. Songhurst.

A vote of thanks was passed to these donors.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. F. A. Walters : A penny of Henry VIII's second coinage of the sovereign type and Canterbury Mint ; obverse, mint-mark a Catherine wheel **h° × d' × G' × ROSA × SI'E × SPIA** ; reverse, **× CIVITAS × CARTOR ×, TA** at the sides of the shield.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler: A penny of Henry VIII's second issue, which he now showed had been altered to resemble a penny of Edward VI's sovereign type, and yet had passed undetected through the Murchison, Addington, Montagu and Murdoch collections. See *Murdoch Sale Catalogue*, Pl. VIII, No. 527. A genuine sovereign type penny of Edward VI, of which only two other specimens have been recorded, and a sovereign type penny of Henry VIII were shown to illustrate the methods employed by the forger.

Paper.

THE COINAGE OF HAROLD I.

Mr. H. A. Parsons, in a paper on the coinage of Harold I, contended that, notwithstanding the presence of Harold's name on the coins, certain types, hitherto attributed to this king, were issued at the Danish mint of Lund, and not, as had hitherto been supposed, at London. Harold, he affirmed, was not the only Anglo-Saxon king, lacking any jurisdiction abroad, whose name was to be found on coins of foreign type, and he supported his contention by arguments based on the designs of the pennies in question, the moneyers' names occurring on them, and the known provenance of many specimens. Eliminating mules and engravers' errors, which had been accepted as distinct types, the lecturer pointed out that the true types of the reign must be reduced to two, with one variety in the first issue and two distinct variations in the second. This reduction of the number of types was in keeping with the short duration of the reign, which did not exceed four or five years, and it might be suggested, on historical grounds, that their issue should be attributed to 1036-7 and 1037 or 1038 to 1040, respectively. Mr. Parsons illustrated his points by originals or casts of practically all the known types and important variations of the coins of Harold I, and by others of Danish or Hiberno-Danish issues, generally recognised as such, which threw light on the question of the doubtful types bearing the name of Harold.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 23rd, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Hawkins was elected a member of the Society.

Major Carlyon-Britton announced that Mr. J. Sanford Saltus had forwarded to him a sum of \$500 to be presented to the Society, and handed a cheque to the President, who, in acknowledging the gift, paid a high tribute to the generosity of the donor. A vote of grateful thanks to Mr. Sanford Saltus was carried by acclamation.

The President read the list of those proposed as officers and members of the Council for the coming year and gave notice that the ballot would take place at the ensuing meeting.

Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Edward Shepherd were appointed auditors of the Society's accounts for the year now coming to a close.

Exhibitions.

In illustration of the paper read :—

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence : A half-noble of the second issue of Edward III, and a quarter-noble of the same issue.

By Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson : A Reading penny and three pennies of the episcopal mint of Durham, 1344-51.

By Mr. Fox and Mr. Shirley-Fox : A quarter-noble of the second issue of Edward III, a series of pennies of the London mint, a penny of Canterbury, several of Durham, episcopal and "sede vacante," and a penny of the archiepiscopal mint of York, all of the period 1344-51.

Other exhibits :—

By Mr. William Dale : A penny of Æthelred II, with the type of the *dextera Dei* ; also a much clipped and worn penny of Edward I, found at Southampton.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler : A penny of the Berwick mint, of Edward III, with, on the reverse, a bear's head in one quarter, and reading *VIL|LT B|ARW|ICI*. A similar coin in the British Museum is believed to be the only other example known.

By Mr. F. A. Walters : A penny of Henry II, of the " Tealby " issue, with a portrait of the king differing much from the usual types ; the mint name on the coin is not legible, but the fabric suggests Carlisle or Newcastle.

By Mr. H. Garside : A copper-nickel two-anna piece of British India, dated 1918, of a new issue, on a square flan with rounded corners.

Eighty-eight casts of the great seals of England, which have been acquired by the Society.

Paper.

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF EDWARD I, II AND III.

Continuing the " Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III," by himself and his brother, Mr. Shirley-Fox, Mr. Earle Fox dealt with the coinage issued between January, 1344, and June, 1351, a period of transition during which experiments were made, none too successfully, for the establishment of a gold coinage. The florin, the first heavy noble and the second noble were described in detail, and some account was given of the indentures under which they were struck and of the reasons why they proved unsatisfactory. Turning to the silver, it was shown that the pennies issued during

the period in question consisted of, *a*, the so-called "Florin" type; *b*, a type with peculiar narrow lettering, on which the royal title, for the first time since 1279, is given in full as **REX**. It was shown that the florin type could be divided into half-a-dozen classes, five of which were peculiar to the royal mints, while the sixth was also issued by the Abbot of Reading and the Archbishop of York, as well as by the King's Receiver at Durham during the vacancy of the see which followed the death of Bishop de Bury. Several episcopal issues of Durham were described, but the chronological arrangement of these is very difficult and, although the position of certain varieties is beyond question, the definite arrangement of the whole series must await the discovery of further information. One point which may eventually lead to its elucidation is the substitution of **VILLÆ** for **CAVITÆS**, as the title of the city, on two sub-types, apparently issued in the early years of Bishop Hatfield, but so far all efforts to obtain an explanation of this change have been unsuccessful.

ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

November 30th, 1918.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. L. Craig, Mr. W. Batty Mapplebeck, Mr. R. Prasada, Mr. Philip Thorburn and Mr. William Greenell Wallace were elected Members of the Society.

Presentation.

The Numismatist for the year 1918, for which a vote of thanks was passed to the American Numismatic Society.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Earle Fox, read the Council's report, as follows :—

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

November 30th, 1918.

The Council has the honour to present its Fifteenth Annual Report to the Members.

It is of happy augury that our Annual Meeting should follow almost immediately on the victory of Great Britain and her Allies in the terrible war which has been waged for the last four and a half years. Air raids, darkened streets, and restrictions of traffic have adversely affected the attendance at our meetings during the past twelve months, but the Society has, nevertheless, successfully carried on its work, and, with the return of peace, may look forward to an era of increased prosperity.

The year which has elapsed has left our lists of Royal and honorary Members unchanged, but the Council has to report, with deep regret, the deaths of the following ordinary Members :—

Mr. Frederick Henry Appleby.	Mr. Brownlow D. Knox.
Mr. Philip Berney-Ficklin, F.S.A.	Mr. W. Machado Maish.
Mr. Joseph Burton.	Professor Arthur S. Napier.
Mr. Henry Champ.	Mr. Thurstan Collins Peter,
Mr. Nathan Heywood.	F.S.A.

The number of resignations received during the year is 5.

Eight new Members have been elected, namely :—

Mr. W. L. Craig.	Mr. R. Prasada.
Mr. H. Hawkins.	Mr. Egbert Steinthal.
Mr. W. Batty Mapplebeck.	Mr. Philip Thorburn.
Mr. A. W. Poyser.	Mr. William Greenell Wallace.

Our roll therefore now stands as follows :—

SUMMARY.

		Royal.	Honorary.	Ordinary.	Total.
November 30th, 1917	...	17	9	381	407
Since elected	... ..	—	—	8	8
		17	9	389	415
Deceased	... ..	—	—	9	9
Resigned	... ..	—	—	5	5
		17	9	375	401

In spite, therefore, of the heavy death roll, the losses caused by the war, and the depressing effect of the trials which our country has undergone, there is a total falling off of but six members.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, our President, has kept up his record by taking the chair at every one of our meetings, and, in spite of the limitations caused by war conditions, most interesting papers have been read and discussed, and important exhibits made in illustration of them. In this respect it is, perhaps, permissible to recall specially the wonderful collection of naval medals shown to us by the Marquess of Milford Haven, whose interesting paper will be printed in our next volume.

Volume XII of the *Journal* is at last in the hands of Members, and though necessarily reduced somewhat in size, contains much valuable matter. Miss Farquhar has again graciously contributed a coloured plate, which adorns her article on touchpieces. We have reason to hope that the requirements of the Government, which have so greatly checked the progress of our printers, will now be at an end, and, though owing to the greatly enhanced price of paper—to say nothing of the difficulty of obtaining supplies of the proper quality—the next volume will of necessity be a comparatively small one, we hope soon to return to our former dimensions.

and to make up the arrears, due to circumstances over which we have no control. Further, we shall now be able to re-enlist the services of highly valued contributors whose activities have been diverted from peaceful numismatic pursuits to the service of their country.

It is a matter of great regret to the Council that Mr. W. J. Andrew, who not only took a prominent part in the foundation of the Society, but has done so much, both as author and editor, to enhance the value of the *Journal*, should have found it necessary to resign his position at the beginning of the present year. The Council trust, however, that, with the return of peace, he will again be able to devote himself to numismatic work, and that a continuation of his masterly study of the coinage of Stephen will once more adorn the pages of our publication. On Mr. Andrew's resignation the post of honorary Secretary and Editor was offered to Mr. Earle Fox, who hopes to keep up the high standard which has characterised the Society's *Journal* from its commencement.

Last summer, when a proposal was made that the British Museum should be used as public offices, the Council prepared to join with other learned Societies in opposing the scheme, which, however, was fortunately abandoned by the authorities before any action had been taken. Since then it has decided to support representations in favour of a special coinage to commemorate a successful peace.

Our library has received a number of useful additions during the year, and we would call special attention to the rich series of casts of the great seals of England which has recently been purchased.

Our Vice-President, Mr. John Sanford Saltus, to whose past generosity the Society owes so much, has presented further sums, amounting to £150, to be devoted to the promotion of its objects, and we are confident that all numismatists will join us in expressing our thanks to one so devoted to their favourite science.

It cannot but be a matter of gratification to Mr. Saltus that

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, to whom the gold medal given by him was this year awarded by the vote of the Society, should have, in the same year, been the recipient of the medal of the Royal Numismatic Society, and, by earning at once both these highly esteemed distinctions, should have brought honour not only upon himself, but also upon the two learned bodies of which he is so distinguished an ornament.

Mr. Hutchins, F.C.A., the Honorary Treasurer, will present his accounts, which, the Council thinks, will give great satisfaction to the Society, whose finances he has managed so ably through a time of great difficulty.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Beresford Smith and Mr. Edward Shepherd, for acting as Auditors, and to Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. Edward Shepherd for accepting the office of Scrutators of the ballots to be held to-night.

Lastly all will join in expressing their hearty thanks to Major Carlyon-Britton—whom we rejoice to see amongst us again—and to Mr. Lumb, for their kindness in continuing to place the rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at the free use of the Society.

On the motion of Mr. Dale, seconded by Miss Farquhar, the report was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks to Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb was accorded.

Printed copies of the audited Balance Sheet having been distributed, Mr. A. C. Hutchins, as Honorary Treasurer, made his annual report, which was adopted, and a cordial vote of thanks to him for his careful services to the Society was proposed by Major Carlyon-Britton, seconded by Mr. Parsons, and carried unanimously.

THE BALLOT FOR OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher and Mr. Edward Shepherd having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot was taken, and they announced the result as follows :—

That the Members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—SESSION 1919.

President :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, R.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A. ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; Lord Grantley, D.L., F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; J. Sanford Saltus, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur ; Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

Director :—Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., F.S.A.

Hon. Treasurer :—Alexander C. Hutchins, F.C.A.

Librarian :—Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton.

Hon. Secretary :—H. B. Earle Fox.

Council :—William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. ; Miss Helen Farquhar ; Lionel L. Fletcher ; Grant R. Francis ; Henry Garside ; Mellor Lumb ; W. Sharp Ogden, F.S.A. ; H. Alexander Parsons ; the Rev. Edgar Rogers, M.A. ; Edward Shepherd ; J. S. Shirley-Fox ; W. Beresford Smith ; H. W. Taffs ; W. B. Thorpe ; Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, R.N., O.B.E., F.S.A.

Paper.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS OF HERTFORDSHIRE.

Mr. W. Longman read a paper on the seventeenth-century tokens of Hertfordshire. Basing his arguments mainly on the parochial registers, hearth tax returns and session rolls, Mr. Longman gave reasons for reconsidering the allocation of certain tokens connected with that county. Among tokens hitherto attributed to Hertfordshire he assigned Williamson Nos. 88 and 89 to Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex ; No. 180 to Sabs Key, London ; and No. 184 to Shenley, Buckinghamshire. On the other hand, he claimed for Hertfordshire, Essex No. 296, Somerset Nos. 291 and 312 and Suffolk No. 300.

Certain tokens, which appear under more than one county in Williamson, were located as follows : Herts No. 76, = London 624, Herts Nos. 140 and 141, = London 1876, 1877, 1878, were all claimed for Hertfordshire ; Herts No. 201, = Essex 326, was transferred to Leicestershire, and, of the tokens of Pirton or Purton, Nos. 147 and 148, = Wiltshire 156, 157, appeared to belong to

Hertfordshire and No. 150 to Wiltshire. The existence of Hertfordshire Nos. 146 and 149 appeared open to some doubt.

The following pieces were probably rightly attributed to Hertfordshire, but, as no evidence had been secured, some might belong to other counties: Hertfordshire No. 145, = Middlesex 158, 159; Hertfordshire No. 169, = Wilts 163; and Hertfordshire Nos. 19, 133, 170, 189.

Exhibitions.

Of seventeenth-century tokens :—

By Mr. W. Longman: In illustration of his paper, tokens of Barley, Kimpton, Market Street, Shenley and Stevenage.

By Mr. William Dale: Tokens of Andover, Bishops Waltham, Romsey, Southampton, and Winchester.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher: Twelve Irish tokens, including the following unpublished pieces—Kinsale farthing, of 1659; Milltown Pass, of George Dowdall; Shrute, of Patrick Lynch, the only County Mayo token known.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence: Farthing of William Rigby, of Corby, dated 1658, and halfpenny of William, IN WH[IT]EHALL, dated 1666, both unpublished.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs: A selection of tokens of unusual shapes, or in exceptionally fine condition.

Other exhibits :—

By Mr. F. A. Walters: A penny of the Empress Matilda, from the Nottingham find, formerly in the Roth collection, reading, on the reverse, **SAEMAERLA**.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1918.

DR.				CR.			
<i>Expenditure.</i>				<i>Income.</i>			
			£ s. d.				£ s. d.
To printing and binding Vol. XII of the <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of distribution ... ..	...	...	347 5 7	By subscriptions ... ..	...	...	315 10 0
„ printing and stationery ... ..	...	...	28 5 10	„ compounded subscriptions ... ..	...	...	15 0 0
„ postages ... ..	...	...	13 4 1	„ dividends and interest ... ..	...	...	42 11 3
„ expenses of Meetings... ..	...	...	6 19 10	„ general purposes fund ... ..	...	...	88 0 0
„ sundry expenses ... ..	...	...	2 5 11				
„ secretary's travelling expenses ... ..	...	...	52 10 0				
„ clerk to Council's fee	10 10 0				
			<u>£461 1 3</u>				<u>£461 1 3</u>

Anniversary Meeting, November 30th, 1918.

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We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs as shown by the books of the Society.

November 28th, 1918. W. BERESFORD SMITH, } Auditors

W. BERESFORD SMITH, } *Auditors.*
EDWD. SHEPHERD, }

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1919.

President.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

J. SANFORD SALTUS, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

Director.

MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

ALEXANDER C. HUTCHINS, F.C.A.

Librarian.

RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON.

Secretary.

H. B. EARLE FOX.

Council.

WILLIAM DALE, F.S.A., F.G.S.

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

GRANT R. FRANCIS.

HENRY GARSIDE.

MELLOR LUMB.

W. SHARP OGDEN, F.S.A.

H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

THE REV. EDGAR ROGERS, M.A.

EDWARD SHEPHERD.

J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

H. W. TAFFS.

W. B. THORPE.

FLEET-SURGEON A. E. WEIGHTMAN, R.N., O.B.E., F.S.A.

Auditors.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

E. SHEPHERD.

Corresponding Members of the Council.

SOUTH AFRICA.—*Pietermaritzburg*.—ROBERT à ABABRELTON, F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S.

AMERICA.

Chicago.—VIRGIL M. BRAND. | *New York*.—THOMAS L. ELDER.

AUSTRALIA.—*Adelaide*.—ALFRED CHITTY.

CANADA.

British Columbia.—R. L. REID, LL.B. | *Montreal*.—R. W. McLACHLAN, J.P.

DENMARK.—*Copenhagen*.—L. E. BRUUN.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

ENGLAND.

Alford.—PROFESSOR F. P. BARNARD,
M.A., F.S.A.

Bath.—HENRY GERVIS, M.D., F.S.A.,
J.P.

Chelmsford.—M. E. HUGHES-HUGHES,
F.S.A., J.P.

Cheltenham.—E. C. CARTER, M.D.

Chesterfield.—HERBERT PECK, M.D.

Exeter.—GENERAL C. S. FELTRIM
FAGAN, F.R.G.S.

Halifax.—S. H. HAMER.

Ipswich.—COL. R. J. CARTHEW, J.P.

Norwich.—LIEUT.-COL. R. F. BOILEAU,
J.P.

Plymouth.—J. ELLIOT SQUARE,
F.R.C.S.

IRELAND.

Belfast.—WILLIAM MAYES.

Co. Dublin.—J. B. S. MACILWAINE,
R.H.A.

Dublin.—G. D. BURTCHAELL, M.A.,
LL.B., Athlone Pursuivant of
Arms.

SCOTLAND.

Dundee.—JOHN S. BUCHAN.

Glasgow.—DAVID MURRAY, M.A., LL.D.,
F.S.A.

Kirkwall.—J. W. CURSITER,
F.S.A.Scot.

Montrose.—G. C. SUTTIE, F.S.A.Scot.,
J.P.

WALES.

Wales, North.—WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

Clerk to the Council.

F. HIGGINS.

Presidents of the Society.

- 1903-4. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
-

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by John Sanford Saltus, now Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 15th, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Ernest Charles Kocq and Mr. A. B. Triggs were elected Members of the Society.

Paper.✱ **PERERIC**

Major Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., read a paper on the coins inscribed ✱ **PERERIC** :, or ✱ **PERERICM** : the attribution of which has proved to be one of the greatest puzzles in the British series. Rejecting absolutely the former attributions to the Earl of Warwick and to Earl Ferrers, as also the suggestion that the name on the obverse was a blundered form of **HENRIC**, the lecturer, before advancing a new explanation of his own, mentioned two points on which he found himself in agreement with previous investigators—1, Mr. W. J. Andrew is right in thinking that the coins were issued by some person or authority claiming power through England, but wrong in concluding that the inscription on the obverse signifies **IMPERATRIS**, that is to say, "[money] of the Empress"; 2, Mr. G. C. Brooke's opinion that the inscription is intentionally obscure is right, but his view that it is without meaning is wrong. The coins are of the same style, design, workmanship and lettering as Stephen's first type, Hawkins 270, and it may therefore safely be inferred that they were struck from dies, constructed with official irons, made by the proper officials in the usual place—namely, the Tower of London—and in this they differ from all coins issued in the name of Matilda. It is therefore necessary to ascertain a period during the currency of Stephen's first type, when it was considered impolitic, unsafe, or undesirable to place his name and royal title on the coins. Such a period is to be found

between the date of the battle of Lincoln, February 2nd, 1141, soon after which Stephen was cast into prison at Bristol, and November 1st, 1141, when he was set free in exchange for Robert Earl of Gloucester. The mint officials were doubtless both cautious and conservative, and they adopted a sort of saving compromise. It is certain that the learned faction of either party would not be content with a meaningless inscription, and that to have used a form definitely committing them to either party would have been fatal to the mint officials in the event of the success of the other. Major Carlyon-Britton therefore suggested that the mysterious legend was intended to be read as follows:—

(1) By the King's party: **P**[ecunia] **E**[st] **R**[ecte] **E**[xpressa] **R**[ege] **I**[n] **L**[arcere] **M**[anente].

(2) By the partisans of the Empress: **P**[ecunia] **E**[st] **R**[ecte] **E**[xpressa] **R**[egnante] **I**[mperatrice] **L**[omitissa] **M**[atilde].

Exhibitions in illustration of the Paper read.

By Mr. S. M. Spink, pennies with the following readings:—

1. ✱ **PERER**[IL :]; reverse: ✱ **TVRCH**I[L : ON : BRIS]
2. ✱ **PERERILM** : ; „ ✱ **SIP**Æ[RD : ON :] **NIL**O :
3. ✱ **PERER**[ILM :]; „ ✱ **S**[IP]Æ[RD : ON : **NIL**O:]
4. ✱ **PERERILM** : ; „ [✱ **SIP**]Æ[RD : ON : **NIL**O:]
5. ✱ **PERERIL** : ; „ ✱ **R**ÆPVL[RD : ON : **NIL**O :
6. ✱ **PERE**[RII :]; „ ✱ **AL**—E (?) **D** : ON : **LVN**

By Mr. W. C. Wells:—

✱ **PERERIL** : ; reverse: ✱ **LEFSI** : ON : **STAN**L (or **E**) :

Other Exhibitions.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence:—Noble of the issue of 1346. weight 128.5 grs., reading **TRÆRSIGN** for **TRÆRSIENS**.

By Mr. E. C. Kocq:—A set of bank-notes, on the Bank of Venice, issued by the Austrians for the great push in Italy in 1918.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 26th, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Presentations.

The following presentations were announced, and a vote of thanks to the donors was passed :—

Medal commemorating the crossing of the Channel in an aeroplane by the King and Queen of the Belgians, by Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.

Répertoire d'Art et d'Archéologie, by the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris.

“An Historical Roll of those Women of the British Empire to whom the Military Medal has been awarded,” by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie.

Paper.

BR ON THE COINS OF CHARLES I.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson read a paper on the coins of Charles I, of the “Declaration” type, which bear the letters BR in monogram. These were formerly attributed to the Oxford mint, but subsequently to Bristol. Later, on the discovery of a statement made in 1684 by a Mr. Baskerville, that the monogram represented the initials of Dr. Bailey, President of St. John's College, the attribution to Oxford again found favour. In spite, however, of the absence of any direct documentary evidence¹ of the existence of a mint at Bristol, the lecturer claimed that the coins in question must have been issued in that city.

Two or three days after the arrival of the mint at Oxford, in January, 1642-3, the King invited the various colleges to lend him

¹ Direct evidence, however, will be found on p. 270.

their plate to be made into money, promising to repay "as soon as God shall enable us." The colleges promptly responded, but St. John's put in a proviso that £300 should be returned to them to pay for some new buildings. The value of the plate surrendered by this college was approximately £688, which, at the rate at which the mint authorities could work, would not have taken more than a few days to coin, yet the BR pieces bear the dates 1643, 1644 and 1645, and correspond in general detail with those bearing the letters OX and the dates 1643 and 1644. These same dates, moreover, occur on the coins bearing the name of the mint, which were issued at Chester, Exeter, and Weymouth.

Bristol was captured by the Cavaliers in July, 1643, and held by them until September, 1645, a period which covers all the dates of the BR coins. It was the second city in England in those days, and was a more convenient centre for Bushell than Oxford, since he could have direct communication with Aberystwith by sea. In his petition to Charles II for a committee to examine his claims, he states that he had clothed the troops which came from Ireland, but that all his vouchers were lost when his house at Bristol was burnt. Sir William Parkhurst, his brother warden of the mint at Oxford, writing in support of Bushell's claims, stated that after Bushell's departure for Bristol with his fine silver, he, Sir William, experienced great difficulty in maintaining the standard of the coinage. Everything, therefore, points to Bristol as the place of origin of these coins. There were many troops in the neighbourhood to be paid, and so important did the city become that latterly it had its own royal Treasurer. The attribution to Oxford must therefore be abandoned, especially as several colleges surrendered more plate than St. John's, without making any stipulation that the money coined from it should bear any particular mark.

Exhibitions in illustration of the Paper read.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson: a series of half-crowns and shillings of the Oxford mint, dated 1642, 1643 and 1644, and of the Bristol mint, dated 1643 and 1644.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis : a series of coins of scarce varieties, and in unusually fine condition, struck at the Exeter mint of Charles I ; also half-crowns of the same sovereign, minted at Chester and Weymouth.

Other Exhibitions.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons : a penny of Edward the Confessor, type C-B 2, of the Berkeley mint, reading, on the reverse, **★EDGAR ON BERLE.**

By Mr. Henry Garside : pieces of twenty, ten, five and two piastres of the late Hussein Kamil, first Sultan of Egypt, issued in the year 1917.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 26th, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society : Mr. Samuel Norwood Grant Bailey, B.A., LL.B. ; Mr. Henry Platt Hall ; Mr. John Martin ; Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith.

Paper.

IRISH MONEY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, having vacated the Chair, which was taken by Major Carlyon-Britton, read a paper on entries of numismatic interest contained in an article by Dr. Henry F. Berry, I.S.O., on the Masters' Accounts of the Merchant Taylors' Guild of Dublin, which appeared in volume xlviii of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. All the items discussed by the lecturer occur in the extracts for the years 1553-1561, which appear on page 22 of the article in question, and some of them are definitely given as in Irish currency, although no specific mention of that currency is to be found at any later date. It may be added that sums of less than two

shillings are invariably given in pence, a custom which appears to have lasted until the eighteenth century.

By far the most interesting of the accounts is that for the year 1561, in which are mentioned "white testers," "white groats," "testers," "groats" and "obols," and lastly "brown backs." Colonel Morrieson gave a list of the different coins circulating in Ireland in the sixteenth century, illustrating it by a selection from his own cabinet, and discussed the values at which they were ordered to pass current. The white testers and white groats of the account must be referred to Queen Elizabeth's second coinage, issued in 1561, which contained 11 oz. of fine silver to 1 oz. of alloy. Of base testers there were no fewer than four distinct issues during the reigns of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth. The current value of these ranged from 8*d.* down to 3½*d.*, and that of the groats varied between 1¾*d.* and 1¼*d.* The "brown back" could not be identified with precision, for the only nickname the lecturer had been able to trace was that of the "Bungal," which was mentioned in Simon's Essays, but it was not unlikely that the term was applied, certainly not inappropriately, to the base shillings of Edward VI, which had recently been decried and countermarked with a portcullis or a greyhound, according to the amount of base metal they contained. Finally, a word of sympathy was expressed for the cashier of the period, who must have had the greatest difficulty in balancing his accounts correctly, with so many coins of similar names but varying values in circulation, and who, in such a monetary chaos, must have been exposed to great temptations to fraud.

BR ON THE COINS OF CHARLES I.

Colonel Morrieson announced that, since he read his paper on the "Bristol Mint of Charles I" at the last Meeting,¹ Miss Helen Farquhar had called his attention to the important evidence furnished by Harleian MS. 6833. This was a statement of Bushell's case, drawn up for submission to the Committee of the Privy Council, which was ordered by Charles II to consider his claims to

¹ See p. 267.

compensation. The evidence included that of one Richard Nicholls, "a moneyer trusted by the Corporation of His Majesty's mint of the Tower of London, Shrewsbury, Oxon and Bristol." Another witness was one Pigott, who testified concerning the repairing of the castle of Bristol and the setting up there of a mint to coin £100 a week. There was also a royal letter addressed to Bushell as one of the wardens of the mint at Bristol. The attribution of the coins bearing the monogram BR to Bristol was therefore placed beyond all doubt, and numismatists were indebted to Miss Farquhar for this convincing evidence.

Exhibitions in illustration of the Paper read.

By Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson :—

Two Irish " harp " groats of Henry VIII, bearing the initials of Jane Seymour and Ann of Cleves respectively, and a third with the title **REX** instead of **DOMINVS**, and the initials **R • R •**.

Base groat and half-groat bearing the portrait of Henry VIII, but struck in the reign of Edward VI, both of the Dublin mint.

Base testoon of Edward VI; mint-mark harp on each side.

Base shillings of Edward VI, countermarked with a portcullis and a greyhound respectively.

Irish shilling of Mary, Irish groat of Philip and Mary, and base penny of Philip and Mary of the London mint.

Irish shilling and groat of Elizabeth and Irish groat of Elizabeth of 1561, with on the reverse a shield bearing three harps.

Other Exhibitions.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence : Penny of the first coinage of Henry II, of the Durham mint : obverse, **†HENRI : R : AC** ; reverse, **†CRISTIAN : ON : DVN**.

By Miss Helen Farquhar: Two half-crowns, three shillings, one sixpence, one groat and one half-groat of Charles I, bearing the letters BR in monogram, all of the year 1644 and a variety of the shilling of 1645 with the monogram BR recumbent, and peculiar stops.

Miss Farquhar also exhibited the following medals, exemplifying the muling prevalent in the seventeenth century.

1. Crowned bust of Charles I: legend, *should hear both houses of parliament for true Religion and Subjects freedom stand*; reverse, both Houses of Parliament, with the King and the Speaker, in session, no legend; border on both sides; silver gilt.
2. Bust of the Earl of Essex, outer legend as on No. 1; inner legend: *Pro · Religione · lege · Rege · et · Parlamento*; reverse, borders and gilding as No. 1.
3. Larger bust of the Earl of Essex, legend: THE SWORD OF THE LORD AND OF GYDEON, incuse; reverse type as before, but with incuse legend IN THE MVLTVTVE OF COVNCELLORS THERE IS PEACE, no borders, silver gilt.
4. Bust of the Earl of Manchester, three-quarters towards left, wearing armour and scarf; legend, incuse: *Pro · Religione · lege · Rege et Parlamento ·*; reverse, Houses of Parliament, neither legend nor border, silver gilt.
5. Bust of Charles I as on the medal first described: CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · FID ·; reverse, bust of Queen Henrietta Maria; signed T RAWLINS, legend: HENRETTA (*sic*) · MARIA · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REG; border on either side; silver.

6. Obverse as last ; reverse royal arms, enclosed in a garter and crowned ; no legend ; border on either side ; silver gilt.
 7. Bust of Prince Charles to left ; no legend ; reverse, arms as on No. 6 ; no border ; silver.
- Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher : Three Irish seventeenth-century tokens, each bearing the Merchant Taylors' arms, namely, Drogheda, John Rookes, 1671 ; Drogheda, Sam^l. Stanbridg, 1653 ; Dublin, Stephen Clark.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, April 23rd, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Major E. H. Spalding was elected a Member of the Society.

Paper.

TRIALS OF THE PYX.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Notes, Documentary and Numismatic, on Trials of the Pyx." Mr. Henry Symonds, F.S.A., in a paper published in volume x of the *Journal*, drew attention to provisions made in this connection, in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and Mr. Lawrence, following the subject back to earlier times, came to the conclusion that much important information could be obtained concerning the issues of the Plantagenet kings and the various privy marks used in connection with them. There is still much obscurity concerning the conditions of the mint under the earlier

sovereigns, but Edward III, in his eighteenth year, ordered trials of the pyx to be held every three months, and many particulars concerning these are to be found in the indentures recorded in the Close Rolls. Directions are given for the provision of a box, or chest, with more than one lock, the keys of which were to be in the hands of various officers, and a certain small proportion of the coins struck was to be placed in this after a preliminary examination by the mint officials. In due course this pyx was examined in the presence of the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, by a jury of goldsmiths, as experts, and, if all was found correct, as was usually the case, the master moneyers received their acquittance. Unfortunately, the existing records, though dividing the gold from the silver, do not inform us of the amount struck of each denomination.

The whole matter requires fuller investigation before very definite results can be obtained, especially as the issues of some of the coins were comparatively small, and it has not yet been possible to compile complete lists of all the varieties to be found. Some of these are naturally of considerable rarity, but the lecturer was able to produce numerous examples of changes in the form of certain letters, the insertion of an annulet or a saltire below the King's bust, or in one of the quarters—not always the same—of the reverse, or the placing of pellets between certain letters of the legend; and there is every probability that, at any rate as regards the more abundant issues, it will eventually be possible to determine, with more or less exactness, the order in which they were struck.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher: Poor Badge of the Parish of Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, dated 1816. This badge, which is referred to on p. 220 of McMaster's history of the parish, bears the names of I. C. Parker and T. W. Barron, Churchwardens.

By Mr. Walter L. Pocock: Proofs in silver of the following eighteenth-century halfpenny tokens:—Durham, South

Shields, Atkins No. 5 ; Norfolk, Blofield, Atkins No. 7 ; Suffolk, Ipswich, Atkins No. 33 ; Warwickshire, Birmingham, Atkins No. 30 ; Warwickshire, Willey, Atkins No. 276 ; proof in bronze of the halfpenny of Tamworth, in Staffordshire, Atkins No. 19 ; proofs in silver of shillings of Dundee, Atkins Nos. 1 and 2.

ORDINARY MEETING.

Wednesday, May 28th, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Nottingham Free Library, The Rev. Alan Williams, M.A., and Mr. G. W. Shaw were elected to membership of the Society.

Presentation.

The following presentation was announced, and a vote of thanks to the donor was passed :—

The Victorian Historical Magazine, containing an article on early Australian paper currency, by Mr. F. Gardner, of Melbourne.

Paper.

A NORTHUMBRIAN MONEYSER OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., dealt with Odilo, a Northumbrian moneyer of the ninth century, and with some of the stycas bearing his name.

The faulty chronology of the archbishops of York and of the kings of Northumberland was commented upon, and various finds of their stycas at York, Hexham, and elsewhere were enumerated. Some of the coins of Odilo were described, and a list of the plates

in which they are illustrated was given. Comparatively few coins bear Odilo's name. Two stycas of Mr. H. Alexander Parsons received special attention. The royal names, when turned right-about, read **FHDLVOL** and **RDSMÖF**, and the moneyer's names are **ÖDHL** and **ÖDHLO**. Mr. Parsons attributes both these coins to King Eardwulf's times, and it is difficult to make anything but **ERDWOLF** out of the royal name. The divergence of **ÖDHLO** from "Odilo" yields another puzzle.

It was pointed out that only three out of 258 forms of eighth- and ninth-century moneyers' names listed by Kenyon-Hawkins in connexion with Eardwulf, Eanred, and Ethelred II, end in o, and only one of these, Odilo, is normal. This was claimed to justify the contention that Odilo was not the name of an Englishman. Three reasons were given: 1, the un-English ending in o; 2, the un-English absence of vocalic infection; and 3, the non-appearance of the name before A.D. 796. The assistance of W. G. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* was invoked, and it was learnt therefrom that Odilo was a continental name, and that many Teutons who bore it from the eighth century downwards are enumerated in Förstemann's, Potthast's, and Paulus Piper's lists. "Odilo" appears in combination in the names of men of the Rhineland in the centuries enumerated, and such names as Odilbald, Odilbert, Odilolf, Odilhard, and the like, are found very frequently.

The phonological side was briefly examined, and the dialect to which "Odilo" belongs was adjudged to be Old High Dutch. The peculiarities of that dialect, according to the lecturer, explained five of the problems presented by the inscriptions on the Eardwulf-Odilo coins. These are:—1, the quite irregular absence of i-infection from initial Ō of "Odilo"; 2, the un-English use of the digraph dh in "Odh[i]lo"; 3, the retention of un-English final o; 4, the unbroken vowel before the r-plus consonant in **ERDWOLF**; and 5, the un-English spelling -wolf. It was explained that these difficulties are normal criteria of the Old High Dutch dialect of the time of Charlemagne, the contemporary of Eardwulf of Northumbria.

Having contended that the name of Odilo is Rhinefrankish, Mr. Anscombe explained the appearance of Odilo in England as a possible consequence of the alleged marriage of Eardwulf with a daughter of Charlemagne. The *Annales Lindisfarnenses* were cited in support of this statement. It was pointed out that, though they are uncorroborated, and though Charles kept all his daughters about him till he died, it must be remembered that he repudiated his first wife in 771, the year after that in which he was married. Moreover, when Eardwulf was expelled from Northumbria in 808 he forthwith went to Charles at Nimèguen, and by his aid, and that of Pope Leo III, recovered his kingdom in the same year.

The paper is printed in volume xiv of the *Journal*.

Exhibition.

By Mr. Henry Garside: a two reales-piece of Charles III of Spain, dated 1782, countermarked on the obverse with an octagon containing the letters G. R., in Roman capitals surmounted by the royal crown. This piece was countermarked for circulation in Jamaica.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 25th, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. Herbert Ellis Norris was elected a Member of the Society.

Presentations.

The following presentations were announced, and a vote of thanks to the donor was passed :—

1. "The Science of Gems, Jewels, Coins and Medals, Ancient and Modern," by Archibald Billing, 1867, 1 volume.

2. "A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients from 700 B.C. to 1 A.D.," with plates 15 to 70, by B. V. Head, 1881-2, 4 volumes.
3. "A Guide to the English Medals exhibited in the King's Library," by H. A. Grueber, 1881, 1 volume.
4. "A Guide to the Italian Medals exhibited in the King's Library," by C. F. Keary, 1881, 1 volume.

All from Mrs. A. H. Taylor.

Paper.

AN UNRECORDED KING OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons lectured on the coins of an unrecorded king of Northumbria whose name appeared on his coins, which are of the styca series, as BEOM. After reviewing the two previous references to these coins, which placed them respectively to East Anglia and to the end of the Saxon dynasty in Northumbria in A.D. 868, the lecturer demonstrated, by the production of a series of coins for which dies were interchanged, that the Beom stycas were, beyond all doubt, of the period of King Eardwulf, for he showed that at one end of an unbroken chain of varieties appeared coins of King Eardwulf and at the other the coins of King Beom. The internal evidence of the moneyers' names on the coins described indicated that King Beom's stycas were struck after King Eardwulf's expulsion in A.D. 806 and, by invoking the aid of the annals of the time, a place for the unrecorded king was found in the year 808, after the reign of Ælfwald II and just prior to Eardwulf's restoration. The coins produced helped towards a solution of the very confused chronology of the time and, by their aid, the debateable chronology of Eardwulf, Ælfwald II and Eanred was placed on a somewhat surer foundation.

Precedents in Northumbria itself were cited to show that there was nothing remarkable in the existence of coins of a king with a very short reign to his credit, and the close analogy of King Redwulf, the only historical reference to whom was in the last annal of Matthew

of Westminster, was cited to show how very near this king was to being also known only through his coins, as in the case of Beom.

Exhibitions in Illustration of the Paper read.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—Coins of King Beom, King Eardwulf, and cognate pieces of Northumbria.

Other Exhibitions.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons :—A shilling of the Commonwealth, dated 1659.

By Mr. Henry Garside :—British copper twopence, dated 1797, with the obverse countermarked in four places with a capital G within a circle having nineteen projecting points directed inwards. The coin has a circular perforation to the right of the king's head. It was current in Guadeloupe during the British occupation, 1810–1816.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 22nd, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President informed the Members of the dangerous illness of the Secretary, Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, and the steps he had taken to ensure the carrying on of the business of the Society.

Applications for membership were announced from the following gentlemen: Mr. G. C. Brooke, M.A., and Mr. Edward Francis Young.

The President read the list of those proposed as Officers and Members of the Council for the coming year, and gave notice that the ballot would be held at the ensuing Meeting.

Mr. Beresford Smith and Mr. Edward Shepherd were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year now coming to a close.

Mr. Dale proposed a vote of thanks to Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson and Mr. L. A. Lawrence for their services during the illness of the Secretary, which was passed.

THE MEDALLIC EVENING.

Exhibitions.

By Major W. J. Freer.—Decorations and medals: Great Britain—Victoria Cross, Cloak Star, G.C.B., Distinguished Service Order, Order of the British Empire, O.B.E., miniature; Distinguished Service Cross, miniature; Distinguished Service Medal, miniature; France—Etoile Noire, miniature; Greece—the Order of George I, miniature; Montenegro—Order of Danilo I, 5th Class, miniature; Poland—Order of St. Stanislaus badge and star, 2nd Class; Portugal—Order of the Tower and Sword, gold, old pattern, Red Cross, miniature; Russia—Order of St. Anne gold badge and star, 2nd Class, Order of St. George silver and bronze crosses, Cross of the Order of Merit; Serbia—Orders of St. Sava and White Eagle, miniature; Tunis—Order of Nichan Iftakar, miniature.

By Major Freer for Mr. R. W. Russell.—Order of the Bath, badge and star, G.C.B. Badge of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, C.M.G., Military Cross; Belgium—Cross of a Commandeur of the Order of Leopold, Star of the Order of La Couronne, Croix de Guerre; France—Medaille Militaire and Croix de Guerre; Greece—Commander's Star and Badge of the Royal Order of the Redeemer; Italy—Badges of the Orders of Savoy and of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus; Portugal—two different badges of the Tower and Sword; Russia—gold and enamel Cross of the Order of St. George, and the cross of that of St. Vladimir.

By Major Freer for Mr. S. M. Spink :—Miniatures of the following :—Royal Red Cross 1st Class, Distinguished Flying Cross, Air Force Cross ; United States of America—Distinguished Service Medal ; Belgium—Order of Leopold II and Medal of Queen Elizabeth ; Egypt—Sultan's Medal for British Forces with Darfur Bar ; Greece—Order of George I and Military Cross ; Italy—La Croce de Guerra ; Portugal—Red Cross ; Serbia—Star of the Order of Kara George.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis :—Bronze Medal of the Royal Humane Society awarded to Lieut. D. G. Francis, R.N., for saving the life of his Observer when the seaplane in which he was patrolling the North Sea on January 13th, 1918, fell 500 feet and sank. There were 22° of frost at the time and they were in the water 15 minutes.

By Mr. W. Sharp Ogden :—Bronze medals of Oliver Cromwell, Turenne, Napoleon I and Wellington.

Other Exhibits :—

By Mr. H. Garside :—Examples of the Australian issue of the bronze penny and halfpenny, both dated 1919. This is the first year in which bronze money was coined in Australia for general circulation in the Commonwealth. The pennies are struck in the Royal Mint, Melbourne, and the halfpennies in the Royal Mint, Sydney, and the coins bear no mint-mark.

Paper.

WAR DECORATIONS OF THE ALLIES.

Major W. J. Freer, F.S.A., thought that the Members would be interested in an account of the numerous orders, decorations and medals awarded to the British Forces by His Majesty the King and the Rulers of the Allied States for services rendered in the late war.

He first described the rewards given by the King and then those awarded by the Rulers of the United States of America, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Serbia and Tunis.

ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

December 1st, 1919.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. G. C. Brooke, M.A., and Mr. Edward Francis Young were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. W. L. Pocock and Mr. J. Shirley-Fox were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

Presentation.

The following Presentation was announced, and a vote of thanks to the donor was passed :—

Photographs of the Memorial Hall in the Connecticut State Library ; one, showing the cases in which the Joseph A. Mitchelson collection of medals and decorations is displayed. By the State Librarian.

The President read the Council's Report, as follows :—

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

December 1st, 1919.

The Council has the honour to present its Sixteenth Annual Report to the members. The year which has passed has left our list of Royal and Honorary Members unchanged, but the Council

has to report, with deep regret, the deaths of the following ordinary Members :—

Deceased.

Mr. J. Bates.	Lord Peckover of Wisbech.
Mr. William Charlton.	Mr. R. Prasada, A.C.J.
Mr. Daniel Howorth.	Mr. W. H. Thorburn.
Mr. A. Dodgson.	Mr. W. J. Webster.

Resignations.

Two members have resigned.

New Members.

Thirteen new members have been elected, namely :—

Mr. S. N. G. Bailey, B.A., LL.B.	The Nottingham Free Library.
Mr. G. C. Brooke, M.A.	Mr. G. W. Shaw.
Mr. H. P. Hall.	Major E. H. Spalding.
Mr. G. Hamilton-Smith.	Mr. A. B. Triggs.
Mr. E. C. Kocq.	The Rev. A. Williams, M.A.
Mr. John Martin.	Mr. Edward F. Young.
Mr. H. E. Norris.	

Our roll therefore now stands as follows :—

SUMMARY.

—				<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
November 30th, 1918	...			17	9	375	401
Since elected	...	...	...	—	—	13	13
				17	9	388	414
Deceased	...	...	...	—	—	8	8
Resigned	...	...	...	—	—	2	2
December 1st, 1919	...			17	9	378	404

The attendance at the meetings has been satisfactory, considering that the pressure of work caused by the war has not yet subsided. The papers read have maintained the accustomed standard of excellence, and many interesting exhibits have been shown.

The sudden and dangerous illness of the Secretary in June last was a great misfortune. The President at once took the duties of that office upon himself, and so reduced any inconvenience to a minimum. The members will be glad to learn that Mr. H. B. Earle Fox is slowly improving in health.

With this meeting the President, Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, completes five years in the chair, and by the Rules is ineligible for re-nomination. During the whole of that period he has presided at every meeting of the Society and Council, which in the opinion of his colleagues is a remarkable record. He shows his interest in our work by consenting to act temporarily as Secretary.

Volume xiii of the *Journal* was finished on the last day of September and it is trusted that it is now in the hands of the members. As foretold in the last Report, it is smaller than its predecessor, and it is feared that the future volumes, owing to the enormous increase in the cost of materials, labour and printing, will never contain so many pages as those of the First Series.

Many additions have been made to the Library, and all will welcome back the Librarian, Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, who has been serving in the Mediterranean as a Sub-Lieutenant in the R.N.V.R.

Our Vice-President, Mr. Sanford Saltus, has again shown the great interest that he takes in our studies by presenting to the Society's funds a sum of \$400 = £95 16s. 9d. Every member will doubtless tender to him his grateful thanks for this generosity.

The Council, in response to an appeal to assist in reconstructing the library of the University of Louvain, which has been so wantonly destroyed by the German forces in the beginning of the late war, has offered to present as complete a set as possible of the volumes of the *Journal*. This has been accepted.

The Treasurer will present his accounts, which doubtless will be found satisfactory. The council is deeply grateful to Mr. A. C. Hutchins for the manner in which he has managed our financial affairs during the many years he has held the office, especially as during the war he has suffered, like others, from pressure of work owing to the reduction of staff and other disturbing causes.

The thanks of the Society are due again to Mr. Beresford Smith and Mr. E. Shepherd for so kindly auditing the accounts ; also to Mr. Pocock and Mr. Shirley-Fox for acting as Scrutators.

Last, but not least, everyone will unite in expressing their hearty thanks to Major P. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb for their kindness and hospitality in continuing to place the rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at the free use of the Society.

Resolutions.

On the motion of Major Freer, seconded by Mr. J. Shirley-Fox, the Report was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks to Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson for his invaluable services to the Society as its President during the past five years was carried by acclamation.

Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson briefly returned his thanks for the kind words that had been spoken of him.

Printed copies of the audited Balance Sheet having been distributed, Mr. A. C. Hutchins, as Honorary Treasurer, made his annual report, and explained the Accounts, which, upon the resolution of Mr. Beresford Smith, were adopted with a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Hutchins.

A similar vote of thanks to Major P. Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb for the use of the apartments was also passed.

THE BALLOTS.

The Scrutators having made their report, the President announced that the members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence :—

1. Charles I, Tower half-groat; mint-mark, obverse, crown; reverse, crown over bell.
2. James II, silver penny, 1687, the 7 stamped over an 8—a very unusual order.

By Mr. W. Sharp Ogden :—

1. Charles I, Briot's crown with a blundered initial on the reverse, R for B.
2. Charles I, Oxford half-crown, 1643, with a blundered Declaration, PPOT.
3. Charles I, Briot's shilling, mint-mark prostrate anchor.
4. Charles I, Tower sixpence, mint-mark rose.
5. A Passe counter of Charles I and his Queen.
6. A memorial badge of Charles I.
7. A curious bronze statuette of Charles I in armour on horse-back, of contemporary work.

By Mr. H. W. Taffs.—A marriage medal of The Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne, 21st March, 1871, by J. S. Wyon.

By Miss Helen Farquhar.—A bronze medal on the late Peace, issued by the Birmingham mint.

By Mr. W. J. Andrew.—A small group in ormolu and bronze of St. George and the Dragon, said to have been designed by B. Pistrucci.

Papers.

A PENNY OF HENRY II'S FIRST ISSUE.

Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., read a paper on an interesting penny of the first issue of Henry II, generally known as the Tealby type, which he exhibited.

Obverse :—✠ **HENRI REX S**

Reverse :—✠ **RICARD : ON : IVELL** Ilchester.

The peculiarity was the final **s** in the obverse legend, of which very few examples were known. Mr. L. A. Lawrence had one which he attributed to London, and there was another in the British Museum of an indecipherable mint from the Lark Hill find. Each of these three differed from the others in type, thus showing that this **s** was not an accidental introduction. Major Carlyon-Britton believed that it stood for the initial letter of *Secundus*, to distinguish Henry II's coins from those of Henry I. It was unnecessary for it to be used on the short-cross type which succeeded in 1180, because the coins were of an entirely different design. On the introduction of the long-cross series in 1247 by Henry III, that monarch placed on his money, first of all **REX TARDI'**, and afterwards **REX III'**. If this supposition was correct, Henry II was the first English king to put a distinguishing mark on his money. Had the later Plantagenet kings followed this plan, there would have been much less matter for debate for members of the society.

The paper is printed in this volume.

THE TOWER SIXPENCES OF CHARLES I.

Mr. Grant R. Francis read a paper on the sixpences issued from the Tower in the Reign of Charles I, being the fourth chapter of his monograph, "The Silver Coins of the Tower Mint of Charles I." Numerous rare varieties and some very interesting examples of "mules" were commented upon with the author's accustomed care and knowledge of this difficult series.

The influence of Nicholas Briot's designs on the coins with the mint-marks anchor and triangle and subsequent issues, which has been observed and illustrated in previous chapters, was again apparent in the sixpenny denomination, as also was the probability of the use of Aberystwith dies at the Tower.

Some very interesting exhibits of rare sixpences were brought in illustration of Mr. Francis's subject by the President, by Miss Helen Farquhar, and by Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton; and with those

exhibited by the Author they probably formed the most complete series of coins of this denomination ever shown on a single occasion.

The paper is printed in this volume.

Note.—At a special meeting of the Council, held on December 15th, Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., President, in the chair, Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson tendered his resignation as temporary secretary, and Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., was unanimously reappointed to his old office.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1919.

DR.					CR.				
<i>Expenditure.</i>					<i>Income.</i>				
				£ s. d.					£ s. d.
To printing and binding the 1918 <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of distribution	...	...	...	397 18 6	By subscriptions	...	...	...	334 19 0
„ printing and stationery	...	...	...	38 9 4	„ compounded subscriptions	...	...	...	15 0 0
„ postages	...	...	...	11 12 5	„ dividends and interest	...	..	...	41 5 0
„ expenses of Meetings	...	...	...	7 16 0	„ general purposes fund	...	...	...	136 16 7
„ sundry expenses	...	...	...	3 19 4					
„ secretary's travelling expenses	...	...	...	52 10 0					
„ clerk to Council's fee	15 15 0					
				<u>£528 0 7</u>					<u>£528 0 7</u>

Anniversary Meeting, December 1st, 1919.

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We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as Auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs as shown by the books of the Society.

W. BERESFORD SMITH, } *Auditors.*
EDWD. SHEPHERD, }

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

SESSION 1920.

President.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM DALE, F.S.A., F.G.S.

MISS H. FARQUHAR.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

W. SHARP OGDEN, F.S.A.

J. SANFORD SALTUS, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

SURGEON-CAPTAIN H. E. WEIGHTMAN, R.N., O.B.E., F.S.A.

Director.

MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

ALEXANDER C. HUTCHINS, F.C.A.

Librarian.

RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON.

Secretary.

W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

Council.

LIONEL L. FLETCHER.

GRANT R. FRANCIS.

MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.

HENRY GARSIDE.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GRANTLEY, D.L., F.S.A.

L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

MELLOR LUMB.

COLONEL J. W. R. PARKER, C.B., D.L., F.S.A.

H. A. PARSONS.

W. L. POCKOCK.

THE REV. E. ROGERS, M.A., O.B.E.

EDWARD SHEPHERD.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

H. W. TAFFS.

F. TOPLIS.

Auditors.

W. BERESFORD SMITH.

A. H. BALDWIN.

Corresponding Members of the Council.

SOUTH AFRICA.—*Pietermaritzburg*.—ROBERT à ABABRELTON, F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S.

AMERICA.

Chicago.—VIRGIL M. BRAND. | *New York*.—THOMAS L. ELDER.

AUSTRALIA.—*Adelaide*.—ALFRED CHITTY.

CANADA.

British Columbia.—R. L. REID, LL.B. | *Montreal*.—R. W. McLACHLAN, J.P.

DENMARK.—*Copenhagen*.—L. E. BRUUN.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

ENGLAND.

Alford.—PROFESSOR F. P. BARNARD,
M.A., F.S.A.

Bath.—HENRY GERVIS, M.D., F.S.A.,
J.P.

Chelmsford.—M. E. HUGHES-HUGHES,
F.S.A., J.P.

Cheltenham.—E. C. CARTER, M.D.

Chesterfield.—HERBERT PECK, M.D.

Exeter.—GENERAL C. S. FELTRIM
FAGAN, F.R.G.S.

Ipswich.—COL. R. J. CARTHEW, J.P.

Norwich.—LIEUT.-COL. R. F. BOILEAU,
J.P.

Plymouth.—J. ELLIOT SQUARE, F.R.C.S.

IRELAND.

Belfast.—WILLIAM MAYES.

Co. Dublin.—J. B. S. MACILWAINE,
R.H.A.

Dublin.—G. D. BURTCHAELL, M.A.,
LL.B., Athlone Pursuivant of
Arms.

SCOTLAND.

Dundee.—JOHN S. BUCHAN.

Glasgow.—DAVID MURRAY, M.A., LL.D.,
F.S.A.

Kirkwall.—J. W. CURSITER, F.S.A. SCOT.

Montrose.—G. C. SUTTIE, F.S.A. SCOT.,
J.P.

WALES.

Wales, North.—WILLOUGHBY GARDNER, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

Clerk to the Council.

F. HIGGINS.

Presidents of the Society.

- 1903-4. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1905. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1917. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1918. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1920. FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
-

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by John Sanford Saltus, now Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.
1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.
1920. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 21st, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Director, Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, read the following letter to the Meeting :—

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,
January 2nd, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honour of submitting to the Prince of Wales your letter of the 20th ult., asking that His Royal Highness would accept the position of Member of the British Numismatic Society, and am desired, in reply, to inform you that the Prince will have much pleasure in complying with your request.

Yours faithfully,
SIDNEY GREVILLE,
Comptroller.

Major P. Carlyon-Britton.

Upon the resolution from the Chair His Royal Highness was unanimously elected a Royal Member, and the honour conferred upon the Society was most loyally appreciated by the Members present.

The President reported that the Council had unanimously elected Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson a Vice-President to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Andrew's resignation of that office on his appointment as Honorary Secretary.

Lieut.-Colonel T. C. Taylor was elected a Member.

Presentation.

The President read the following letter, and exhibited the medal to which it refers :—

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
NEW YORK,
December 31, 1919.

To the President of the British Numismatic Society.

DEAR SIR,

On behalf of Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Honorary Councillor for Life of the American Numismatic Society, and Vice-President of the British Numismatic Society, I have the honor to transmit as a gift to your Society a copy in brass of the medal presented to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales during his recent visit to New York. Mr. Saltus provided the funds which made it possible for our Society to present the Gold Medal, and he made it a stipulation when the gift was tendered that a single copy in a metal not used for any other specimens should be struck for presentation to the British Numismatic Society.

It gives me great pleasure to be instrumental in transmitting this gift, and with assurances of my cordial regard, I beg that you will believe me

Very respectfully yours,

SYDNEY P. NOE,
Secretary.

The beauty of the medal and the excellence of the portrait were the subject of general comment, preceding a vote of thanks expressing the Society's appreciation of the kind thought on the part of both the American Society and Mr. Saltus, and so cordially conveyed by Mr. Noe, that had prompted the gift.

Exhibits.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler.—Penny of Edward the Confessor of the York Mint. Obverse, type V according to Major Carlyon-Britton's classification, but with sceptre, whether by accident or design, in the form of a crozier. Reverse, type VI, annulet in one quarter, +STYRCOL ON EOFERP.

By Mr. F. W. Yeates.—Contemporary forgery of the Tower shilling of Charles I, mint-mark harp, with the large plume over the shield on the reverse; of interest because of the rarity of the original.

By Mr. W. L. Pocock.—A fine example of the Nelson medal for the Victory of the Nile.

By Mr. Henry Garside.—The fifteen-rupee piece in gold, dated 1918, coined at the Bombay mint for general circulation in India.

Paper.



IMITATION OF A SOLIDUS OF HONORIUS. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Mr. Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S., read his paper "The Golden Solidus of Scân Omôðu—the earliest English Coin." His treatise dealt with the coin and its prototype; with the Latin inscription on both, and with the date of the prototype. The runic inscription on the coin was discussed and identified with the man's name Scân and the folk-name Omôðu. Mr. Anscombe dated the coin about A.D. 460, and believed it to have been copied from a triumphal medal of Honorius, which he gave reasons for assigning to A.D. 421. The coin, he contended, was struck to commemorate the victory that the Alemannic Prince Scân, Duke of Cair Benet, or Winchester, won over the Saxon invaders of Britain in the sixteenth year after that in which the comet of A.D. 443 was seen—namely in A.D. 459. Scân was the official chief of ten provincial kings in Southern Britain. In the 'Merlin' he was called "Duke Escam" [$\text{<Escā} = \text{Escan}$]. In the 'Morte D'Arthur' he was called "Duke Eustace" [$\text{<Estauce} = \text{Estance} = \text{Escanus}$]. In Wolfram von Eschenbach, *circa* 1210, he appeared with the title of "Lander" and was called "Schianatu." Wolfram said he was slain by Orilus, lord of Cumber-

land. "Lander" was a misrendering of "Guletic," the Early Welsh for *dux* and *comes*. "Schianatu" was a Brythonic representation of a West-Saxon Scēanutta. This postulated Alemannic Scānutto, and that name appeared in the Augsburg 'Liber Vitae' of the eighth or ninth century.

The scribal errors in the blundered Latin inscription on the coin were explained, and the folk-name Omôð-, genitive plural Omôðu, was identified with the Amothingas of 'Widsith.' Their homeland lay near Shrewsbury, and that town is called "Caer Amwythig," in Welsh, to this day.

Nevertheless, the Meeting was not prepared to accept Mr. Anscombe's theories or attribution of the coin, if coin it be, but it was suggested that his promised paper on a similar piece, attributed to Hama, ought to be heard before any decided opinion was expressed.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 18th, 1920.

MR. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President explained that the paper on the Coinage of Edward III intended for that evening, as notified, had been postponed.

Presentation to the Library.

By Mr. Lionel M. Hewlett: *Anglo-Gallic Coins.*

Exhibits.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons, in illustration of his paper: Edward the Confessor, penny of his last type; a variety of the same,

with obverse similar in detail to the first issue of William I, except that Edward's bust is to the right. Harold II, penny, to show the absence of the shoulders and the unbroken legend surrounding the head. William I, penny of his first issue.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence: A series of eighteen *denarii* of the Emperors Claudius, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Carausius relating to Britain.

Henry III, a penny of the long-cross type and Durham mint, reading **WILLELM ON DVR**[h]. Mr. Lawrence explained that the moneyer was new to our lists, and must have held office later than A.D. 1260, probably coining between Roger whose coins appeared in the Brussels hoard and Robert who issued coins at Durham of the long-cross series in the early years of Edward I.

By Mr. F. A. Walters, *President*: A collection of the coins of Edward III intended to illustrate the postponed paper.

By Mr. J. O. Manton: Some Edwardian coins with the like object. A Danish imitation of a penny of Æthelred II.

By Miss Helen Farquhar: A collection of portraits of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries adapted for wearing as ornaments in the form of pendants or rings. A "VIGO" five-guinea piece. Miss Farquhar read some interesting notes on her exhibits.

Papers.

THE PROTOTYPE OF WILLIAM I'S COINAGE.

Mr. H. A. Parsons read a paper on the Prototype of the Initial Coinage of William I. After touching on the interest and importance of the study of evolution in the designs of our money, he proved—by the exhibition of a new variety of Edward the Confessor's last

coinage, of which the obverse, except that the head was to the right, was practically identical with the Conqueror's first issue—that the design of William's first money was taken directly from that issue, and not from the intermediate coinage of Harold II, as had been usually assumed. The very striking differences between the pennies of Harold and of his successor were shown, and the general conclusion was that, not only historically but also in numismatics, William's intention to ignore Harold's accession was manifest.

The paper is printed in this volume.

HALFPENNIES AND FARTHING OF HENRY VIII.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton contributed a paper on the Halfpennies and Farthings of Henry VIII, in which he demurred to the theory, recently raised by Mr. Lawrence, that for sixty years prior to the Act of 1523 our halfpennies and farthings were struck from the same dies, and were only differentiated by the diameter and weight of the flans. This theory was based upon what he believed was a wrong construction of the wording of the Act :

Whereas the farthings and halfpennies were struck with one coin, so that the common people many times took the farthings for halfpennies, it was ordained that the farthings to be made, from that time, should have on one side a portcullis, and on the other a rose with a cross. *Ruding*, I, p. 302.

The context, providing as it does for the change in the design, and not in the method of manufacture, of the farthing, proved, he urged, that the expression "with one coin" did not refer to the dies, as suggested in Mr. Lawrence's recent paper to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but meant struck with one design or pattern, and he instanced the farthing of Henry VII, in Colonel Morrieson's collection, which was from a smaller die than that of the contemporary halfpenny, as direct evidence that the theory failed.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 17th, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mrs. W. J. Andrew was re-elected to membership.

A MEDALLIC GATHERING.

The President explained that, in view of Colonel Leslie's paper, the Council had invited the ladies, resident in London, who had earned the Military Medal in the Great War to be present that evening. He was gratified to see that the meeting was honoured by a representative attendance of at least a third of their number, some of whom were wearing not only British decorations but also crosses and medals awarded by the French and Belgian governments. Members would join him in offering them their patriotic congratulations.

Regret was unanimously expressed at the total lack of art in the design of the Bronze Star for 1914-15.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. Grant R. Francis :—

Charles I. The largest and the smallest silver coins ever struck in England, namely, the Oxford twenty-shilling piece and the halfpenny of the Tower mint. The former, he remarked, was illustrative of both the papers for that evening, because it served as the first British war medal, a specimen of it having been presented by Charles I to each of his colonels.

A consecutive series of silver half-groats, pennies and half-pennies of the Tower issues of Charles I's reign, illustrative of his paper.

A pair of dies of the "square box" form for the Tower half-crown of Charles I, with mint-mark sun on the obverse, which had been ploughed up on the field of Marston Moor between the years 1819 and 1825, and now belonged to Mr. R. Cromwell Warner. Mr. Francis, however, called attention to the facts that the spelling "FRANCE" in the king's title differed from any known legend on the coins, and that as the battle of Marston Moor was fought on July 2nd, 1644, and the sun mint-mark was not introduced until the following year, the discovery would seem to bear no relation to the battle.

Mr. Andrew called attention to a similar instance of a pair of box dies being found in Yorkshire some time before 1844. They were concealed in the chimney of a very old house at Finghall, near Bedale, and were for the shilling of James I's second issue. The parallel was completed by their also bearing an unknown variation of spelling, RX for REX.

By Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson and by Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton :
Series of the half-groats and pennies.

By Major V. J. E. Ryan :—

Henry VIII. Sovereign of the second issue with mint-mark lys over sun-burst.

Edward VI. The gold crown with mint-mark, arrow and crowned shield between **h R**, also crowned, mentioned in *Kenyon*, p. 107. Gold halfcrown, similar, but the letters at the sides of the shield and rose uncrowned.

Charles I. Silver crown with mint-mark harp, from the obverse die numbered 21 by Mr. Francis, but with reverse bearing the plume over the shield and the limbs of the cross showing beneath. Shrewsbury halfcrowns, C. 8. and F. 4 of Colonel Morrieson's arrangement.

Papers.

WAR MEDALS AWARDED TO WOMEN.

"War Medals which have been awarded to Women" was the title of a paper read by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Leslie. Prior to the late war, medals had been awarded to hospital nurses only in various military expeditions: South Africa, 1879; Egypt, 1882; Suakin, 1885; The Nile, 1884-5; Ashanti, 1896-1900; China, 1900; South Africa, 1899-1902; and Nyassaland, 1915. But with the Great War new conditions arose owing to the thousands of women who, in addition to the hospital staffs, volunteered for employment in the field in one capacity or another. It was therefore decreed that the "Military Medal," which had been instituted by Royal Warrant, dated March 25th, 1916, should be awarded to women "for bravery and devotion under fire." One hundred and twenty-six of such awards were made, covering the whole period of the war. Women were qualified, exactly as men, to receive the Bronze Star, 1914; the Bronze Star, 1914-15; the British War Medal, 1914-19; and the Victory Medal. Many, also, were awarded foreign decorations, both military and civil.

At the close of the proceedings Colonel Leslie presented his audience with copies of Part I of the "Historical Roll, illustrated with portraits of the Women of the British Empire to whom the Military Medal has been awarded," which he is compiling.

SMALL COINS OF CHARLES I'S TOWER MINT.

Mr. Grant R. Francis contributed the closing chapter of "Silver Coins of the Tower Mint of Charles I," which described the half-groats, pennies and halfpennies of that issue, their sequence and their dies. The monograph is now completed, and upon its merits Mr. Francis has earned the unqualified gratitude of every student of Carolean Numismatics.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 21st, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

President, in the Chair.

Miss Isabel Farquhar, Dr. Harold R. Cross, and the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, were elected to membership.

The President spoke in feeling terms of the loss the Society and, indeed, the Numismatic World, had suffered in the death of Mr. H. B. Earle Fox. He was a student and a scholar, and his knowledge of classical and British numismatics was of the highest order. As a contributor to the *Journal*, and joint author of the Numismatic History of the Reigns of Edward I, II and III, he was well known to all present, and his technical skill as director of the Society's research work had been invaluable. During the years 1918 and 1919 he had acted as Honorary Secretary and Editor, performing his duties in spite of failing health with his invariable ability, and the charm of his personality had endeared him to all. The vote of condolence with his brother and Mrs. Shirley-Fox was passed in silence.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. Andrew for Lord Grantley: The coin described in the latter's paper.

By the President: Pennies of Stephen, ✠ **ALFPARD : ON : NORPI**, *Hawkins* 270; and another with three annulets in the crown and an unusually clear portrait, probably of Lincoln.

By Mr. E. H. Wheeler: The two coins of Truro and Christchurch described by Mr. Andrew in his address, and a penny of Henry Plantagenet.

By Mr. William C. Wells. Pennies of Stephen, a coin of the normal type of ✠ **LEFSI : ON : STAN**, *Hawkins* 270, two from the same obverse die, but from a reverse with a pellet upon each arm of the cross, and two from the same dies

after a bar had been cut across the sceptre in the obverse die.

By Mr. S. M. Spink. A coin of Lincoln to show the clear reading

*** PERERICM :**

By Mr. Dale for Lady Mildmay. Impressions of an angel, used as a touchpiece by Charles I, bearing the star mint-mark for 1640, a variety not recorded by *Kenyon*.

By Mr. Henry Garside : The bronze cent and ten-cents, and the nickel twenty-cents of Zanzibar, dated 1908.

Papers.

SOME REMARKABLE COINS OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

Lord Grantley, F.S.A., contributed a paper "On a Penny attributed to Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, in the Reign of Stephen." He explained that the coin, which was exhibited to the Meeting, was of the same type as that engraved in *Ruding*, Sup. ii, 2, 21, now in the British Museum, and in equally fine condition. It was found in 1884, during excavations for the Bell Tower of East Tytherley Church, Hampshire, and within five miles of the site of the Winterslow hoard of 1804 which contained the other example. These two coins, bearing the half figure in armour with a drawn sword before the face, were the only coins of either the type or obverse legend yet discovered, but when read together it was now possible to deduce what was probably the name and title of the baronial issuer. From the lower portions of the letters visible on his coin behind the bust he thought that Mr. Andrew¹ had rightly assumed that the Museum piece read **[*PAT]RICIUS COMES**, with reverse, ***ST[ANNIN]G ON : SA**, for Patrick de Cadurc, Earl of Salisbury, and Stanning a moneyer of that mint on Stephen's last type, *Hawkins* 268. The reverse of his coin, however, was from a different die and seemed to read ***ST . AN . N ON : SA**

¹ Volume vi, p. 365, and *Numismatic Circular*, 1914.

Reviewing other coins of the baronial series, he was of opinion that those bearing the name William should be attributed to William, Earl of Gloucester, as leader, after the death of his father in 1147, of the Angevin party ; and that the obverse legend of *Ruding*, Sup. II, 2, 1 was really intended for **WILLELMVS** like its fellows. But he agreed with Mr. Andrew's attribution of another of the same class, now in his collection, to the mint of Devizes.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., speaking from notes for his "Numismatic History" of the reign, reminded Members that eight years ago¹ he had called attention to the fact that although Stephen's second type, *Hawkins* 269, was represented by hundreds of coins from fifteen mints, if he excepted a cut halfpenny doubtfully attributed to York, not one of those mints was west of London. The currency from January, 1142, for the whole of the rest of England must be looked for in the ecclesiastical and baronial issues, whether by partisans for or against Stephen, or by neutrals. Such were *Hawkins* 271 to 284 and 628 to 631, and many others. The moneyer's name, Stanghun, on Lord Grantley's coin, occurred at Salisbury on Stephen's first type, whereas that on the Museum example appeared on his last type, so the name was changed during the use of this obverse die. But as the Winterslow hoard yielded the latter, neither coin could have been issued later than about 1143. This synchronized with the advance of Stephen into Wiltshire when Salisbury held out against him until relieved by his crushing defeat at Wilton, July 1st, 1143. Patrick de Cadurc had been seneschal to Matilda, and as castellan of Sarum we may assume that it was he who defended the castle. The creation of his earldom is in doubt before 1149, but these two coins, reading **COM**, with their martial design seem to prove that he was already an earl in 1143. Nevertheless, the attribution was not certain.

Hawkins 273, still unique, was issued at Exeter in 1141, for it was found at Watford, and its reverse design had features in common with this class. Mr. E. H. Wheeler had lent him for exhibition a

¹ Volume xii, p. 414.

coin entirely new to our text-books. It combined the obverse of *Hawkins* 276 with the reverse of the 273 coin, and he believed that it was issued by Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, at Truro, then recently created a borough by him; obverse, **✠STI[FM]E**, reverse, **✠ROGIER ON TRE, Treuru**. That the moneyer was Earl Reginald's is proved by a reference to him in the Pipe Roll for 1157 as "Roger Peck, moneyer of Cornwall," because it was a palatinate. As the coin is "muled" with *Hawkins* 273, buried in 1141, we have again evidence that these issues took the place of Stephen's second type of 1142.

That being the case, the series bearing the name William was too early for William, Earl of Gloucester, who did not succeed his father until November, 1147, and as his father, Earl Robert would be responsible for the issues which bore the name of his nephew, Henry Plantagenet, during his minority, for he was only nine years old in 1142, so Earl William would continue the same series.

On the other hand, he quoted a passage from the *Gesta Stephani* which referred to the Castle of *Cristiciria* and thus answered the objection to the coins reading **CRST** being attributed to Christchurch, on the plea that the place was still called Twynham. Also, at least two, if not all, of the coins bearing the name had been found within twenty-four miles of Christchurch. This brought all the six mints bearing the name William within the then boundaries of the earldom of William de Moion, Earl of Dorset and Somerset. One coin bears the name **DE MOI**, and another, kindly exhibited by Mr. E. H. Wheeler, the legends **✠VVILL • DN DV • O •**, reverse, **✠WLLEM ON : CRST**, Christchurch. The letters were quite clear, and as the coin was found at Winterslow it could not have been issued later than about 1143. He had extended the obverse legend to **WILLelmus DomiNus DUrotrigum**,¹ because the inhabitants of Dorset and Somerset were still considered as one people or tribe, the *Durotriges*, and that was the very reason why De Moion received the dual title. Now, he was able to quote an exactly parallel and contemporary case. A coin in Mr. Spink's collection, struck at Carlisle, by Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Northumberland,

¹ *Numismatic Circular*, 1914.

read ✠ **HEN CM DNS NIDI : M :** for **HENricus CoMes DomiNuS NIDuariuM**, for Earl Henry was Lord of the Niduarians—the Picts and Galwegians, just as Earl William was Lord of the Durotriges.

Turning to the coins reading **PERERIC** and **PERERICM**, he remarked that as their dies were obviously official they could have been issued by Matilda's party only between February and June, 1141. The two legends were clearly variants of the same form, an accusative governed by *per*, which in the script would be written indifferently *per eric* or *per ericm*, and in view of the Plantagenet badge it was a remarkable coincidence that *per ericam* would evolve.

Major Carlyon-Britton, following on this last point, thought that *per ericum* would be a better reading, because Matilda claimed through her father Henry I, and Henry II's name appears as *Enricus*, and Henry IV's as *Eric* itself on some of their Anglo-Gallic money, this proving that the **PERERIC** legend was copied from Angevin script and spelling.

After the Meeting Mr. Andrew said that he was quite prepared to accept this construction, and it was even possible that a rebus for both was intended.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 19th, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Henry E. Miller and Mr. Frank Heeley were elected Members.

Presentations to the Library.

By Mr. Alfred Anscombe : *Medals of the Renaissance*, by G. F. Hill, M.A.

By The American Numismatic Association : Copies of *The Numismatist* to date.

By Mr. Spink : *The Coinage of Nero*, by Edward A. Sydenham, M.A.

Bound copy of *The Numismatic Circular* for 1919.

By the Author : *Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint*.

By the Author : *The Copper Tokens of the Bank of Montreal*, by Eugene G. Courteau, M.D.

Exhibitions.

Coins of Charles I.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson : The remarkable series of coins struck at the Oxford mint referred to in the report of his paper.

By the President : Half-crown, mint-mark plume, 1642, ground below the horse and reading HIBER. Shilling, 1643, obverse of the usual Oxford type, mint-mark plume ; reverse, mint-mark B-R in monogram, and legend commencing at the top of the coin ; two others, varied, of 1646. Threepence from an Aberystwyth obverse die but reverse "the declaration," 1644. Threepence, obverse of the Oxford type with R below the bust, mint-mark trefoil ; reverse from an Aberystwyth die with plumed shield, and mint-mark open book. Threepence, mint-mark lys on the obverse ; reverse, "the declaration" and date 1646, the 6 punched in the die over 4. Two half-groats from the same obverse die, but with reverses of "the declaration" in one case and a large plume with mint-mark lys in the other. Penny, mint-mark on the obverse, only, lys ; reverse, a plume in the centre.

By Miss Helen Farquhar : A series of the Oxford issues, including the following : Unite, 1644, with the declaration in three lines.¹ Silver pound-pieces, 1643, *Hawkins* type 5 ; and 1644, type 7. The pattern crown by Rawlins, 1644, signed R ; from the Rashleigh, Russell and Wigan

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, xi, p. 198, Plate II, 5.

collections. Half-crown, 1642, without the ground below the horse, the hoofs breaking the inner circle. Half-crown, 1643, small horse with the ground beneath; reverse reading PR°; *Snelling* xii, 5. Pattern shilling by Rawlins, R under the bust. Pattern shilling with bust to right, *Hawkins* fig. 524. Curious shilling from an obverse die of 1643 and a reverse of 1644, reading LIBERT, but with the open R; double struck. Groat with R under the bust, 1646. Threepences, R under bust; reverse, 1644, normal, *Hawkins* fig. 542. Similar obverse but with the Aberystwyth reverse. Half-groats, obverse, the Oxford bust, mint-mark mullet, with the Aberystwyth reverse. Mint-mark lys on both sides, Oxford, 1644, *Ruding* xxiv, 12. Pennies, "the declaration," mint-mark pellet. Obverse bust by Rawlins, reverse the Oxford plume. Curious penny of the Oxford obverse and Aberystwyth reverse with mint-mark ∴. Obverse of the Aberystwyth type with reverse the Oxford plume.

By Mr. H. A. Parsons: Shilling of Charles I of the Lundy Island mint, 1646; obverse mint-mark a plume punched over the B-R monogram. "Evidently," he said, "a Bristol shilling of 1645 obverse overstruck with the Lundy Island mint-mark, and used with a Lundy Island reverse."

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher: Three interesting silver jettons of Charles I and Henrietta Maria dated 1625 and 1628.

Matilda's Coinage.

By the President: Anglo-Gallic hardit of Henry IV on which his name read **ÆRIC**, illustrative of the discussion on the **PERERIC** legend at the last Meeting.

Paper.

CHARLES I'S OXFORD MINT.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Silver Coins of the Oxford Mint, 1642-1646." The mint, he said, was

removed from Shrewsbury to Oxford in January, 1642-3, and two days after its arrival at New Inn Hall, which had been allotted to its use, Charles I sent letters to the various College authorities asking for the loan of their plate and promising to repay the value when he was able to do so. They responded most loyally, and so long as this supply of bullion lasted there was a large output of money, both in gold and silver. The gold denominations issued were treble-, single- and half-unites, and those of silver, pounds, half-pounds, crowns and the smaller pieces, probably to the halfpenny. The chief distinctions from the Shrewsbury issues were the plume, which now had bands added to it, and the figure of the King, which was of much better design and execution.

The mint was continued in operation until the surrender of Oxford to the Parliamentary forces in June, 1646, and the time might be divided numismatically into three periods: 1, January, 1642-3, to the autumn of the same year, when Thomas Bushell, the mint-master, left for Bristol; 2, during the autumn and winter 1643-4; 3, from the spring of 1644 to June, 1646.

No description of the gold coins was at present necessary as they had been recently described by Dr. Philip Nelson in vol. xi of the Society's *Journal*. Of the silver there were eight varieties known of the pound-piece issued between 1642 and 1644; three of the half-pound and six of the crown, for it was the half-crown that formed the bulk of the money struck. Amongst these half-crowns were found examples of the custom of the promiscuous use of odd dies carried to the extreme, as exemplified by an obverse of 1644 being muled with no fewer than ten different reverses; and ninety-six varieties were enumerated. The shillings were not so numerous, and, like the half-crowns, were coined every year. Six-pences were not plentiful and appear only of the years 1642 to 1644. Previous to 1644 the lower denominations appear to have been struck from the dies brought from Aberystwyth, as the earliest dated are of 1644. The groats were dated 1644, 45, and 46, the threepences 1644 and 46, but the half-groats and pennies only 1644, although they must have been issued in the other years because the

majority bear a reverse of the Aberystwyth type, but of different workmanship. Colonel Morrieson gave reasons for attributing these pennies to the Oxford mint, instead of to that at Aberystwyth as hitherto assumed, and demonstrated instances of the same obverse die being used with both the reverses.

In illustration of his subject Colonel Morrieson exhibited the following remarkable series of varieties extant of the Oxford issues in silver alone: Pound-pieces, 8; half-pounds, 3; crowns, 5; half-crowns, 74; shillings, 24; sixpences, 7; groats, 8; threepences, 5; half-groats, 3; pennies, 2.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 16th, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President voiced the pleasure of the Meeting at the presence from New York of J. Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, a Vice-President of the Society; and read the list of Officers and Council nominated by the present Council for the Session 1921.

Exhibitions.

By Mr. L. A. Lawrence: The numerous and varied series of early brass and latten counters that formed the subject of his paper.

By Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton: Plantagenet counters of brass or similar metal:

1. Head of Edward I, similar to that upon his silver pennies, within an inner circle; around, a bordure of large pellets and groups of three pellets conjoined, placed alternately. Reverse, a long cross fleury, in each angle a group of five pellets; inner circle; in the outer circle a crown within each division of the cross.

2. Within an inner circle the badge of the crescent and star ; around, a bordure of large pellets and the letter **X**, placed alternately. Reverse, similar to that of No. 1, except that in the outer circle are mullets of six points and the letter **I**, placed alternately.
3. Head of Edward I within a double tressure of eight arches ; inner circle ; around, a bordure of rosettes and the letter **I**, placed alternately. Reverse, the arms of England with a label of three points on a spade-shaped shield ; in the outer circle, a bordure similar to that on the obverse.
4. On a thick flan, octagonally shaped, a large crown within a circle composed of groups of two large pellets and one mullet, placed alternately. Reverse, similar.

By Miss Helen Farquhar, with the following note : Silver counter engraved with portraits of Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England, and of her husband Frederic, Count Palatine. Legends : obverse, ELISABETHA D . G . COMITISSA PALATINA RHENI ; reverse, FRIDERICVS D . G . COMES PALATINVS RHENI ELECTOR. Elizabeth, in plaited ruff and plumed head-dress, wears no insignia of royalty and at first thought the absence of her title of Queen of Bohemia is also suggestive that the portrait was engraved prior to 1619, when Frederic assumed the crown ; and the same argument applies to the latter's representation. But comparison with other pictures and medals, executed between the time of the marriage in 1612-13 and the year 1623, proves that the last-mentioned date is the earliest to which the portraits can be assigned. The prototypes of both may be found in a print by Willem de Passe, who had recently replaced his brother Simon in England, and had not long before drawn the Prince and Princess from life in Holland, whither they had retired on the loss of their crown. It is not unlikely that this beautifully engraved counter itself is the work of Willem de Passe.

By Mr. L. L. Fletcher : Sixty-three specimens of municipal tramway tokens, mostly of celluloid, issued for various towns in England and Scotland during recent years.

By Mr. Henry Garside : Bronze cent dated 1919, coined in the Calcutta mint for general circulation in the Straits Settlements. The coin is square with rounded corners.

Paper.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a paper on some early English brass or latten counters which he thought from design and workmanship might be dated with some certainty. They bear heads which agree accurately with the king's head as shown on some of the pennies of Edward I and Edward II. Some of these counters were by this means attributed to Edward I, of groups IV and VII of the classification now in vogue. The counters of Edward II's time were represented by groups XI and XV of the same classification. In some cases the same crown-iron had been used to punch in the crown on the penny and on the counter. These counters were used for reckoning purposes. They are usually without legends and are generally wholly or partially pierced. He showed a particularly interesting example attributed to Edmund Plantagenet, brother to Edward I, and Earl of Lancaster, for it bore his arms: namely, the lions of England differenced with a label of three points, each point charged with three fleurs-de-lys. This design occurs on the reverse of the counter which shows on the obverse the head of Edward I of group IV, issued between A.D. 1282 and 1289.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 20th, 1920.

Mr. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President referred in feeling terms to the death, on August 23rd, of Mr. Edward Shepherd, who had been a Member of

the Council almost continuously since 1913, and was often one of the Auditors of the Society's accounts. He was an expert on the Greek coinage, and his knowledge and assistance were always at the service of Members. His regular attendance at the meetings evidenced his interest in the Society, and his kindly disposition earned the friendship and respect of all his colleagues. The vote of condolence with his widow and family was passed in silence, the Members standing in honour to his memory.

The President announced that an English Member, who desired to remain anonymous, had forwarded through Mr. Andrew a bank-note for £100 as a contribution towards the present increased cost of the Society's *Journal*; and a special vote of thanks was passed to the donor for the generous and thoughtful spirit which had prompted so handsome a gift.

He further announced that Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, and a Vice-President to whom the Society already owed much of its sound financial position to-day, had made a further donation to its funds of £113 18s. 1d., in English money. A grateful vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Saltus for this welcome proof of his continued generosity and support.

Exhibitions.

By the President: Philip and Mary. Shilling with the date, 1554, below the busts, and the English title only. Shilling of the same date, but of the usual type, with the Spanish and Neapolitan titles, and another, similar, but with the English title only. Shilling of 1555 without the figures of value, and an Irish shilling of that year.

By Mr. Ogden: Elizabeth. Uniface pattern in silver, bearing the crowned Tudor rose, similar to that on Henry VIII's shilling but of Elizabethan workmanship. Sixpence of 1576 with mint-mark rose, found that month during excavations in the Kingsway, London; and a beautiful example in fine silver of the Irish shilling of 1561.

By Mr. F. Willson Yeates: The collection of Elizabethan counters and jettons described by Surgeon-Captain Weightman later.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson:

Elizabeth. Pattern shilling, mint-mark key.

Charles I. Six shillings of the Tower mint with mint-mark tun; three being of type 3*a* and three of type 4, to show the different busts. Particular attention was drawn to one of type 3*a*, the bust of which corresponds with that on the second variety with the mint-mark anchor of type 4.

By Mr. William Dale: Roman copper coins of Maximianus Hercules, Constantius Chlorus, and Gallorius, found together near the line of the Roman road at Bishop's Waltham.

By Mr. Henry Garside: India. Nickel pattern half-anna, 1908. Mauritius. Bronze five-cents, two-cents and cent, 1917.

By Mr. Coleman P. Hyman: An official Trafalgar medal in contemporary silver mounting and perfect condition.

Paper.

ELIZABETHAN COPPER MONEY, ETC.

Surgeon-Captain Weightman, O.B.E., F.S.A., read an interesting paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Patterns for a Copper Coinage in the Reign of Elizabeth," and exhibited a series of them from his collection. He explained in detail the three successive proposals made to the Queen in the years 1574, 1576, and 1601, for the coining of small money. In this relation he explained that "A HALF PENY PECE" first described by the late Mr. Hoblyn in 1903 was the pattern for the proposal of 1574 for a coinage in embased silver; and that "THE PLEDGE OF A HALFEPENNY" was the pattern for that of 1576 for a copper coinage. He gave reasons for believing that "the so-called half-groat" was, in fact, the pattern for a two-penny piece, and that the example described by the late Mr. Montagu as the farthing of 1601 was really the halfpenny of that year. The remaining patterns were also described and brought into natural sequence.

Later, Captain Weightman, by request, kindly described the collection exhibited by Mr. F. Willson Yeates, who was unable to be present, as : " A numerous and fine series of lead, or more probably pewter pieces of the time of Elizabeth, the use of which is, perhaps, obscure, but some may be medalets and others counters for reckoning purposes. From the fact that certain of them have a rampant lion within the Garter on one side, and the arms of France on the other, it has been supposed that they refer to Mary, Queen of Scots ; as certainly do some which bear a rampant lion on one side, with the arms of the Dauphin of France and the inscription GOD SAVE THE QVENE on the other. There are pieces which bear the arms of France surrounded by HENRICVS DEI GRATIA, and on the other side two intertwined columns, crowned, which might have been thought to refer to Henry Darnley had not a somewhat similar example been found with the arms of France surrounded by CAROLVS DEI GRATIA, and on the other side a lion rampant within the Garter. These two jettons therefore probably represent Charles IX and Henry III of France. Those, however, which show a rose, crowned, between E and R, and the inscription GOD SAVE THE QVENE, must certainly refer to Queen Elizabeth.

Probably the clue to the problem is to be found in the pieces bearing what has been thought to be a portcullis—the Tudor badge. But it looks more like a chequer board, and that it was intended for the board of the Exchequer is proved by the fact that usually in the centre of each of the squares a little counter is represented, and sometimes the legend itself directly refers to the Royal Exchequer.

ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

November 30th, 1920.

MR. F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.,

President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. A. Bennie Gray and Mr. B. W. Harris were elected Members.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher presented *The Later Nineteenth-Century Farthing Tokens of Ireland*, by Dr. H. C. Hurry, to the library.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Mr. Andrew, as Secretary, presented

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

NOVEMBER 30TH, 1920.

In this, our seventeenth annual report, we have the honour to congratulate the Members upon the addition to the Society's list of Royal Members of the name of the Prince of Wales. The correspondence, through Major Carlyon-Britton, which led to this happy and popular event has already been printed in the Proceedings.

During the year death has claimed its sad toll of six Members: Mr. Charles William Bartholomew, M.A., Mr. Harry Bertram Earle Fox, Mr. David Thomas Harris, Mr. F. W. Lawrence, Mr. Henry Clay Miller, and Mr. Edward Shepherd. Mr. Bartholomew joined the Society in 1904, Mr. Harris in 1916, Mr. Lawrence in 1904, and Mr. Miller as an original Member was one of the first of our American supporters.

Of our late Secretary, Mr. Fox, and our colleague, Mr. Shepherd, we can only repeat the feeling terms in which the President spoke of them at our Meetings of April and October, but even those words fail to express the regret shared by all the Members at losing them from our midst.

The Honorary List has been reduced by the retirement from this country of two of its Members.

During the war the names of all Members on service were retained, whether their contributions were continued or not, but now the List of Members has been adjusted, and it is found that on November 30th last year the Ordinary Members numbered 350 only; and of these ten have resigned during the year.

On the other hand it is our pleasure to welcome the following ten new Members:—

Mrs. W. J. Andrew.

Dr. Harold R. Cross.

Miss Isabel Farquhar.

Mr. H. A. Bennie Gray.

Mr. B. W. Harris.

Mr. Frank Heeley.

Mr. Ashley K. Maples.

Mr. Henry E. Miller.

The Royal Scottish Museum.

Lieut.-Colonel T. G. Taylor, D.S.O.

SUMMARY.

—				Royal.	Honorary.	Ordinary.	Total.
November 30th, 1919	...			17	9	350	376
Since elected	...	...		1	—	10	11
				18	9	360	387
Deceased	...	...	...	—	—	6	6
Resigned	...	...	...	—	2	10	12
November 30th, 1920	...			18	7	344	369

A year ago Colonel Morrieson volunteered to undertake the duties of Honorary Secretary during the serious illness of Mr. Fox, and with the assistance of Mr. L. A. Lawrence he prepared and carried through Volume XIV of the *Journal*, which was issued in June. For editing this volume the Society is therefore indebted to the honorary assistance of Colonel Morrieson and Mr. Lawrence, and its quality is vouched by letters of appreciation from Royal Members and from Members generally, even so far away as in America and Australia.

Meanwhile Mr. Andrew had been reappointed to his old office of Honorary Secretary and Editor, which he had vacated for war-work at the close of 1917.

The year 1920 will be remembered by Members for two most welcome incidents which deserve their gratitude. On August 16th an English Member, who desires to remain anonymous, wrote to Mr. Andrew enclosing a bank-note for £100 as a contribution towards the greatly increased cost of printing and issuing the Society's *Journal*.

Only a few days later Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, of New York, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, forwarded through Major Carlyon-Britton a donation to our funds to the value of £113 18s. 1d. in English money. He had been present at the June Meeting, and

it was an honour to the Members to welcome their Vice-President from over the Seas, to whom the Society is indebted for financial support constantly given it.

The importance to the Society of these two most generous donations will be appreciated by the Members when we call attention to the primary question of the day in all societies—that of ways and means. For the third year in succession our Report has to refer to the ever increasing cost of production of the *Journal*, and maintenance of the Society.

In this relation we have applied to both the Honorary Treasurer and to the Honorary Secretary and Editor for a report upon the position.

Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., as Treasurer, replies that the inclusive cost of Volume XIV of the *Journal* amounted to about £500, and the total expenditure for the year to £585 19s. 5d. Towards this the income of the Society was £329 17s. 6d. from subscriptions and £41 5s. from its investments, or £371 2s. 6d. in all; leaving a deficiency on the year of £214 16s. 11d. By a curious coincidence, the two donations to the Society from Mr. Saltus and the anonymous Member together cleared the deficiency within a few shillings. He adds: "Have you considered the question of raising the subscription, a course now being taken by many societies?"

Mr. Andrew, as Secretary and Editor, replies:—

"On my return to office, I proposed a programme which included the issue of a second volume this year, but, with the cost of £500 per volume before us upon an income of only £375, that was impracticable, for we have had to devote the two donations, amounting together to £214 16s. 11d., to clear the deficit upon Volume XIV and the current year. To further reduce the cost of the volume is also impracticable, because certain expenses, such as paper, binding, postages and cost of delivery are, approximately, fixed charges, and it would not be worth while to issue a

book of fewer than the 250 quarto pages of Volume XIII. Therefore, I offer the following suggestion for your consideration :

“That future volumes shall include the Proceedings to the close of the last year and be issued every eighteen months—in the May or November as the case may be. Although this would mean a volume at intervals of eighteen months, it would have the advantage of enabling us to publish the Proceedings at our Meetings almost down to the date of issue. I am informed in reply to my enquiries that no further increase in the cost of the *Journal* is anticipated, and, therefore, if we issue two volumes in this way every three years our present income would meet the total expenses of the Society, and any increase might be devoted to the betterment of the *Journal*. To increase the subscription of this Society would, in my opinion, be an unpopular movement, and an expedient pyrrhic in its results.”

These are questions which the Officers and Council for the coming year will, no doubt, seriously consider and decide. We regret that removal to Fishbourne, near Chichester, has necessitated the resignation of Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton as Librarian, but we trust that his interest in and contributions to the Society's Proceedings will be continued as before. In his stead Mr. Parsons has been nominated Librarian, and those who have read his historical papers in the *Journal* will appreciate his suitability for the office.

To Mr. Hutchins, for his careful attention to the financial affairs of the Society, and to Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. A. H. Baldwin, who have acted as Auditors of the accounts, the thanks of the Members are due. Mr. Beresford Smith is always helpful in such matters as these, and we welcome Mr. Baldwin's assistance. To Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb, Members will yet again express their gratitude for the free use of the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square. Also our thanks are due to Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher

and Mr. Taffs, the Scrutators appointed for the two ballots this evening.

Mr. Walters, as President, has presided at every Meeting of the Society and Council during the year, and he specially invites the Members to support him in his earnest endeavour to increase the general attendance at the Ordinary Meetings until it is worthy of the science and cause we all have at heart.

The Report was unanimously adopted, and the Hon. Treasurer's Accounts duly passed.

THE BALLOTS.

The Scrutators reported that the Members nominated by the Council had been elected as

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1921.

President :—Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents :—Miss Helen Farquhar ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; The Right Hon. Lord Grantley, F.S.A., D.L. ; Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrison, F.S.A. ; J. Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur ; Surgeon-Captain A. E. Weightman, R.N., O.B.E., F.S.A.

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AWARD OF THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL.

The Scrutators also reported that the ballot for the John Sanford Saltus Medal, which is awarded by the ballot of the Members triennially to the Member whose paper, appearing in the Society's publications, is in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic

science, had resulted in a majority of votes for Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, F.S.A.

Exhibitions, and Notes upon them.

Mr. G. R. Francis exhibited a silver penny of Athelstan of the Derby mint, reading +ÆDELSTAN REX TO BRI; reverse, +SIGFOLDES MOT ON DEOΓEΓ, and in a short paper identified it as from the same reverse die as the interesting fragment of Anlaf, the Danish King of Northumbria, described by Major P. Carlyon-Britton in Volume V of the *Journal*. Mr. Francis called attention to the historical importance of this evidence that the same die was successively used at Derby for money bearing on the obverse the names of both Athelstan and Anlaf, the opposing kings at the Battle of Brunanburgh.

Mr. W. J. Andrew exhibited and read an account of a bronze talisman and silver penny of the time of Henry III, found by Mr. G. E. Slim, with the remains of a human skeleton, in his garden on the hill outside the West Gate of Winchester. The coin was by the moneyer Robert of Canterbury, much clipped, and of the sceptred long-cross issue. The burial was in unconsecrated ground, outside the city, the skeleton headless and placed north and south and covered by a layer of flints of uniform size. Mr. Andrew thought that these conditions, especially the last, which instanced the ancient superstition that flints laid evil spirits, pointed to the interment of a felon—even, perhaps, one of those executed at Winchester for clipping in the year 1278.

The paper is printed in this volume.

Miss H. Farquhar showed nine boxes made from coins between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and intended to hold portraits or, later, counters.

Also, thirty-seven pieces illustrative of Touching for the King's Evil, from the angels of the Tudors to copper

examples plated with silver used by Cardinal York, probably after he was driven from Rome by the Napoleonic troops, including examples of all the known varieties, and one unpublished, of the admission passes issued to the patients from the reign of Charles I.

Surgeon-Captain Weightman exhibited two similar farthings of pewter and of copper of William and Mary, 1689, half-pennies of pewter and of copper, probably of 1690, and a copper halfpenny of 1694, all with portrait busts by Bowers and, like the halfpennies and farthings of Charles II, of Swedish copper. Also a copper piece with the busts of William and Mary, and, reverse, a shield with the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew; inscribed BRITISH COPPER, and possibly struck as an appeal for the use of British copper.

British copper, he explained, being less pure than Swedish, was blacker and harder, and therefore more difficult to strike. Rolling and punching out the flans increased the hardness of the metal, and so led the patentees to resort to casting the flans, thus obtaining the metal in its softest possible state. It was a mistake to describe the half-pennies and farthings of the period as "cast." The flans were cast, but the coins were struck.

OTHER EXHIBITIONS.

By Mr. M. Child. Tetradrachm of Carystus, about 500 B.C., similar to, and from the same obverse die as the example illustrated *Babelon* XXXII, 14; said to have been found at Andover. A gun-money crown from the reverse die on which the contraction symbols are omitted, and other coins.

By the President. Athelstan. Penny of Winchester, reading +EADSTAN MO WIN CIVIT
Henry I. Penny of Wallingford, type II, *BRIHTRIC
ON PAL, new to our lists.

Henry VII. Profile groat, obverse mint-mark, lys, reverse, greyhound. Another: obverse, cross-crosslet, reverse, pheon.

By Sir William Wells. A beautiful example in gold of the medal of the Landing of William III, in its original silver-mounted case.

By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson. A series in copper, pewter, and gunmetal, illustrative of the issues of James II in Ireland between 1685 and 1691.

By Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher. Collection of the colliery tokens of Cumberland, 82 varieties, including the Whingill of 1679, the Curwen in lead, the Camerton and two varieties of Windy Hill Colliery.

By Mr. J. O. Manton. A metal pass of the early Railway days, used as a then ordinary ticket—over the line which was opened between Leicester and Swannington on July 17th, 1832, and destined to become the Midland Railway. Also a free pass of copper, being the only known metal free pass over the line of that period.

By Mr. Henry Garside. Canadian cent, 1920, of new design and smaller size. Egyptian 100-piastres, 1916. United States half-dollar, Pilgrim tercentenary, 1620-1920.

By Mr. B. Mapplebeck. Impression of the seal of John Egerton, Bishop of Durham, 1771, and other works of art.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1920.

Proceedings of the Society.

DR.

CR.

<i>Expenditure.</i>					<i>Income.</i>				

Anniversary Meeting, November 30th, 1920.

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We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs as shown by the books of the Society.

W. BERESFORD SMITH, } *Auditors.*
A. H. BALDWIN, }

LISTS OF MEMBERS

OF

The British Numismatic Society

ON

JANUARY 1ST, 1922.

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order.

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAARON VII., KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
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*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

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